
SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S VIEWS
ON
POINTS OF TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE,
&c.
A SELECTION OF AUTHORITIES, WITH OBSERVATIONS:
BY HENRY GREEN, M.A.

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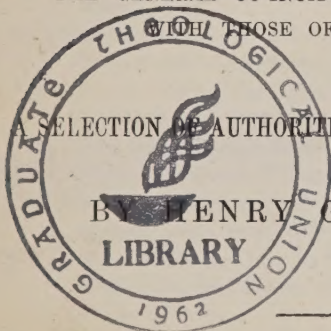
His Articles of Faith,

AND

THE GENERAL CO-INCIDENCE OF HIS OPINIONS
WITH THOSE OF JOHN LOCKE;

A SELECTION OF AUTHORITIES, WITH OBSERVATIONS,

BY HENRY GREEN, M.A.
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"What the gifted mind of Newton believed to be truth, I dare not pronounce to be error."—BREWSTER.

"Locke's character was as pure and as exalted as his talents were great and useful."—KING.

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SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S VIEWS, &c.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

IN assuming for these pages the title which they bear, and which has been borrowed from a chapter in Sir David Brewster's "Memoirs of the Life of Newton,"—it is not intended so much to review and criticise that work, as to find an appropriate expression for certain facts in the religious characters and creeds of Locke and Newton. It happens that Brewster has supplied a formula for doing this, which possesses the requisite exactness; and I have adopted it with the purpose of inserting the statements and arguments which will give it a full signification, and which, I think, will present a definite picture of what these eminent men thought respecting the Trinity, and some kindred doctrines.

We must remember that Brewster comes before the public as an unwilling witness in this cause: his feelings, convictions and prejudices, are all opposed to the supposition that Newton was a Unitarian; and though he neither suppresses the main circumstances of the case, nor gives them a false colouring, he is singularly confused in the manner in which he develops the evidence. Five and twenty years ago he arrived at the conviction that Sir Isaac was not an Anti-trinitarian; later inquiries, and fuller opportunities, have entirely overturned

that conviction ; yet he gives the old conclusions along with the new ;—and were readers not to exercise considerable discrimination, they might feel uncertain whether they are to follow the Brewster of 1830, or the Brewster of 1855.

We are, however, truly thankful to him for honestly supplying what Horsley, designating as rubbish, fraudulently withheld. The proofs from Newton's own papers, as they are the most satisfactory and reliable, are of the highest value for setting forth his theological opinions. Sir David Brewster has thus done an important service to the cause of truth, and one for which he might claim no slight degree of credit ; he has acted impartially, and whatever may be his bias in a contrary direction, has shewn that truth occupies the highest place in his regards. Were it for this reason only, it should not be with a captious spirit that we would animadvert on some portions of his work. It is a subject of universal concern that the exact truth should be set forth respecting men of high attainments and spotless character ; and we owe a debt of gratitude to every writer who lays open to us the inner life, the thoughts, and principles, which sway noble minds.

At various times there have been controversies respecting the theological opinions of Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke, especially in reference to the doctrine of the Trinity. From their own days to the present, a vague persuasion has been entertained that they had, on this point, departed widely from the prevalent faith of Christendom. Firm believers undoubtedly they were in the divine origin of the Christian religion, and most diligent, careful, and impartial students of the Holy Scriptures, but whether they adopted the Unitarian view of God, that there is one God in one person, the Father Almighty ; or the Trinitarian view, that there is one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, has

remained rather a subject of conjecture than of certainty. The works of Newton, as edited by Bishop Horsley, and those of Locke, as found in the usual collections of his writings, contain comparatively but little from which we can form a decisive judgment; we perceive, indeed, that they were of a most liberal spirit, and friends of rational religion, and that they were among the foremost to take their station beneath the banners of revealed truth; but under what name they did service to the Christian Church has been a controversy, and not a demonstration. Probably they were so much in earnest that they did the work of faithful disciples, and were not troubled with anxieties as to their appropriate name among the followers of Christ.

There are, however, two works of modern date, one of them recently published, which supply very clear and decisive proofs that these, the most eminent philosophers of our country, were Anti-trinitarians. The works in question are, Lord King's "Life of John Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place Books," one vol. 4to., 1829; two vols. 8vo., 1830;—and Sir David Brewster's "Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton," two vols. 8vo., 1855.

II.—NEWTON'S AND LOCKE'S LIBERALITY OF SPIRIT, CANDOUR, AND LOVE OF TRUTH.

BEFORE adducing the fresh evidence which these works contain, it will be useful to trace the indications there are from other sources, respecting Newton's and Locke's theological and religious opinions. Their school of thought allied them to Hales of Eton,* and to Tillotson of Canterbury; † in fact, to

* Appendix A.

† Appendix B.

all who allowed freedom for the mind. Their great principles were those of the soundest Protestantism, the sufficiency of the Scriptures as the rule of faith, and the duty of every Christian to judge for himself. Human authority to coerce the conscience they utterly rejected; as God had given them powers of thought and of reason, these powers they believed themselves at liberty to exercise, without let or hindrance from their fellow-men.

All minds, indeed, that are sincerely religious, love truth and seek it as the most precious treasure. It possesses an intrinsic worth which finds the highest estimation in their souls; and they are impressed with a sense of the obligation conscientiously to employ the faculties which God has bestowed. It is not authority, nor antiquity, nor custom, that bars their inquiries, and restrains them from following out their convictions. They are of the light, and the light ever draws them to itself. Knowingly to rest in error, they cannot endure; it is their high prerogative to master prejudice and self-interest, and to pursue truth with a holy love. In these respects, Newton and Locke are our great examples.

Of Newton's liberality of spirit we have a remarkable instance. When Deslandes, the author of "A Critical History of Philosophy," was dining at Newton's house, instead of drinking to the health of kings and princes, Newton more judiciously proposed the health of all honest persons. "We are all friends," he said, "because we unanimously aim at the only object worthy of man, which is the knowledge of truth. We are also all of the same religion, because leading a simple life, we conform ourselves to what is right, and we endeavour sincerely to give to the Supreme Being that worship which, according to our feeble lights, we are persuaded will please Him most."—Bewster's Memoirs, ii. 256, 257.

On the supposition, which some have made, that he was not an Anti-trinitarian, his conduct to Samuel Crellius, who exercised the ministerial office among the Anti-trinitarians of the March of Brandenburg and Silesia, shows how wide and comprehensive was his charity. Not long before his death, Newton sometimes conversed with Crellius, and manifested much interest in his work, "On the Beginning of John's Gospel." This book Sir Isaac read while it was passing through the press,—and when Crellius was leaving him to return to Holland, he made him a very generous present.—Wallace's *Anti-trinitarian Biography*, iii. p. 470, 473.

About the same time he uttered the fine thought,—“I do not know what I may appear to the world, but to myself I seem to have been only like a school-boy, playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me.”—*Library of Useful Knowledge: Newton's Life*.

Locke's character appears in a similar light. “He was,” said one who knew him well,* “a profound philosopher, and a man fit for the most important affairs. He knew something of almost everything which can be useful to mankind, and was thoroughly master of all that he had studied; but he showed his superiority by not appearing to value himself in any way on account of his great attainments. Nobody assumed less the airs of a master, or was less dogmatical, and he was never offended when any one did not agree with his opinions. In the most trifling circumstances of life, as well as in speculative opinions, he was always ready to be convinced by reason; let the information come from whom it might. He was the most faithful follower, or indeed, the slave of truth, which he never

* Appendix G.

abandoned on any account, and which he loved for its own sake."—*King's Life*, p. 267, 268.

When his health became infirm * he applied himself principally to the study of the sacred Scriptures, and regretted that he had not devoted more of his time to it in the former part of his life; and his great regard for the sacred Writings, appears from his answer to a relation who had inquired of him, what was the shortest and surest way for a young man to attain a knowledge of the Christian religion? "Let him study," said Mr. Locke, "the Holy Scripture, especially in the New Testament; therein are contained the words of eternal life: it has God for its author; salvation for its end; and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter."—*Locke's Life*, prefixed to his Works in ten vols., 1823, p. xxxiv.

And at a short time before his death, † when he was preparing to take leave of the world, he was deeply impressed with a sense of God's manifold blessings to him, which he took delight in recounting to his friends: he was full of a sincere resignation to the Divine will, and of firm hopes in the promises of future life. As he had been incapable for a considerable time of going to church, he thought proper to receive the Sacrament at home; and two of his friends communicating with him, as soon as the ceremony was finished, he told the minister, "that he was in perfect charity with all men, and in a sincere communion with the church of Christ, by what name soever it might be distinguished."—p. xxxiv.

The estimate of Newton's character in his pursuit of truth, is admirably drawn by Chalmers in the discourse "*On the Modesty of True Science*." "We see in the theology of Newton, the very spirit and principle which gave all its stability, and all its sureness to the philosophy of Newton. We see the

* Appendix D.

† Appendix E.

same tenacious adherence to every one doctrine, that had such valid proof to uphold it as could be gathered from the field of human experience; and we see the same firm resistance of every one argument that had nothing to recommend it but such plausibilities as could easily be devised by the genius of man, when he expatiated abroad on those fields of creation which the eye never witnessed, and from which no messenger ever came to us with any credible information."—*Astronomical Discourses*, fifth edition, p. 84 and 85.

To his friend Philip à Limborch, Locke writes in the frankest manner; "I who everywhere seek truth alone, embrace it equally as far as I can attain to it, whether I find it among the orthodox or the heterodox."* To the same friend he also writes; "it would to a Christian man be a subject of wonder, whence the disposition of some persons has arisen, unless I had been for a long time conversant with persons of this character, zealots for the Christian religion. But everywhere are to be found men of that sort, who, whether they seek the salvation of souls, or make a gain by the Gospel, let others judge; I grieve for, and am indignant at what I see, here, there, and everywhere."† And again, "in my *Essay of the Human Understanding*, now at last something has been

* Locke's Correspondence was conducted often in Latin, and sometimes in French. The originals are subjoined:—

"Ego, qui ubique solam quæro veritatem, eamque quantum capere possum, sive inter orthodoxos reperio, sive heterodoxos, pariter amplector."—*Locke's Works*, vol. x., p. 6 and 7.

† "Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus christiano homini esset mirandum, nisi inter hujusmodi zelotas christianæ religionis diu versatus essem. Sed ubique ejusdem farinæ homines reperire est, qui an salutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæstum faciant, judicent alii; ego quod doleam, quod indignor, hic, illic, undique video."—*Vol. x.*, p. 42.

discovered not quite sound, and that has been censured by men of not the lowest seat. If I, instructed by their arguments, discover anything worthy of censure, thankfully will I acknowledge, and not unwillingly correct it; should that not be the case, I judge that I ought to give a reason why I do not change my opinion, when I discover nothing in it foreign to the truth." *

In another of his letters to the Rev. Samuel Bolde,† a Dorsetshire clergyman, he says;—"the first requisite to profiting by books is, not to judge of opinions by the authority of the writers. None have the right of dictating but God himself, and that because He is truth itself. All others have a right to be followed as far as I, that is, as far as the evidence of what they say convinces; and of that my own understanding alone must judge for me, and nothing else. If we made our own eyes our guides, and admitted or rejected opinions only by the

* "*In meâ de Intellectu Humano dissertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum est non ita sanum, idque à viris haud infimi subsellii reprehensum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehensione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoscerem, et haud invitus corrigerem. Id cum non sit, rationem mihi reddendam censeo, cur non mutaverim sententiam, cum nihil reperiam in eâ à veritate alienum.*"—Vol. x., 59, 60.

† "This liberal clergyman was instituted Rector of Steeple, in the year 1682, and died in the month of August, 1737, at the advanced age of eighty-eight." He defended Locke's 'Reasonableness of Christianity,' and his liberality "is the more praiseworthy, as there seems no ground for suspecting his orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity. The main points for which he contends are, that Christ and his Apostles required no further profession than that Jesus was the Messiah; that the primitive Christians suffered solely on account of this profession, and not for their faith in any particular doctrines; and that it is anti-Christian to insist upon anything, as a part of the religion of Jesus, which Jesus himself has not authorized."—Wallace's *Anti-trinitarian Biography*, vol. i., p. 315.

evidence of reason, we should neither embrace nor refuse any tenet, because we find it published by another, of what name, or character soever he was."—*Christian Reformer*, 1835, p. 13.

In this spirit they sought for truth,—that is, for an agreement between their own thoughts and convictions, and the realities of nature and of God. With pure intentions they opened thoughtfully the great books of Creation, of Divine Providence, and of Revealed Religion;—and not to build up theories of their own, but to learn, as Truth displayed to them her Divine lessons, was the sole end of their labours. Pride they held in subjection; prejudice they endeavoured to discard; what the world without and the soul within, as enlightened by the Spirit of the Infinite, taught them, they revered and upheld; it was theirs to say to the Great Source of Wisdom,—“speak, Lord, for thy servants hear.”

As their philosophy was founded on inferences from ascertained facts, so their religion rested on broad and comprehensive principles that enlightened reason approved. The system opposite to this Newton condemns expressly, when he says: “it is the temper of the hot and superstitious part of mankind, in matters of religion, ever to be fond of mysteries, and for that reason, to like best what they understand least.”—*Horsley’s Newton*, Vol. v. p. 530.

He followed out his inquiries with the determination to obtain, if possible, clear and distinct views of Divine revelation, and to feel satisfied that his faith was supported by conclusive arguments. “When he turned his attention to this book. (the Bible) he came to it with a mind tutored to the philosophy of facts; and when he looked at its credentials, he saw the stamp and the impress of this philosophy on every one of them. He saw the fact of Christ being a messenger from heaven, in the audible language by which it was conveyed

from heaven's canopy to human ears." So judged Dr. Chalmers; and he sums up his judgment in the words,—
 "and when I look at the steady and unmoved Christianity of this wonderful man, so far from seeing any symptom of dotage and imbecility, or any forgetfulness of those principles on which the fabric of his philosophy is reared, do I see that in sitting down to the work of a Bible commentator, he hath given us their most beautiful and most consistent exemplification."—*Astronomical Discourses*, p. 85 and 87.

III.—RECOGNITION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF FREE INQUIRY AND OF INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT: THE PROVINCES OF FAITH AND REASON.

The principles of free inquiry and of individual judgment, obtained from Locke a complete recognition.* "I am an Evangelical Christian," he says, "not a Papist. What I mean when I call myself an Evangelical Christian, or if you prefer it, orthodox, not a Papist, learn in few words. Among professors of the Christian name, I recognize only two classes,—Evangelicals and Papists: the latter, who, as if infallible, arrogate to themselves dominion over the consciences of others; the former, who, seeking only truth, desire that she should

* "Evangelicus sum ego Christianus, non Papista." "Quod velim cum me Christianum Evangelicum, vel si mavis orthodoxum, non papistam dico, paucis accipe. Inter christiani nominis professores duas ego tantum agnosco classes, evangelicos et papistas. Hos, qui tanquam infallibiles dominium sibi arrogant in aliorum conscientias: illos, qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam et sibi et aliis, argumentis solum rationibusque persuasam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, suæ imbecillitatis haud immemores: veniam fragilitati et ignorantiae humanæ dantes petentesque vicissim."

convince themselves and others by arguments and reasons only; not unmindful of their own weakness they are gentle to the mistakes of others; giving, and in turn seeking pardon, for human ignorance and frailty."—Works, vol. x., p. 81. To one of his correspondents before mentioned, the Rev. Samuel Bolde, he writes;—"the impartial lovers and seekers of truth are a great deal fewer than one could wish or imagine. It is a rare thing to find any one to whom one may communicate one's thoughts freely, and from whom one may expect a careful examination and impartial judgment of them. To be learned in the lump by other men's thoughts, and to be in the right by saying after others, is the much easier and quieter way; but how a rational man, that should inquire and know for himself, can content himself with a faith or a religion taken upon trust, or with such a servile submission of his understanding as to admit all, and nothing else, but what fashion makes passable among men, is to me astonishing."—*Christian Reformer*, 1835, p. 13.

In his "Common Place Book," Locke pursues a similar train of thought. "The great division among Christians is about opinions. Every sect has its set of them, and that is called orthodoxy; and he who professes his assent to them, though with an implicit faith, and without examining, he is orthodox, and in the way of salvation. But if he examines, and thereupon questions any one of them, he is presently suspected of heresy, and if he oppose them, or hold the contrary, he is presently condemned as in a damnable error, and in the sure way to perdition. Of this one may say, that there is, nor can be nothing more wrong. For he that examines and, upon a fair examination, embraces an error for a truth, has done his duty more than he who embraces the profession (for the truths themselves he does not embrace,) of the truth, without having ex-

amined whether it be true or not. And he that hath done his duty, according to the best of his ability, is certainly more in the way to heaven than he who has done nothing of it. For if it be our duty to search after truth, he certainly that has searched after it, though he has not found it, in some points has paid a more acceptable obedience to the will of his Maker, than he that has not searched at all, but professes to have found truth when he has neither searched nor found it. For he that takes up the opinions of any church in the lump, without examining them, has truly neither searched after nor found truth, but has only found those that he thinks have found truth, and so receives what they say with an implicit faith, and so pays them the homage that is due only to God, who cannot be deceived, nor deceive."—King's Life of Locke, p. 281, 282.

To the same purpose Locke argues in his "Essay of the Human Understanding," chap. xvii., § 24. "He that believes without having reason for believing, may be in love with his own fancies, but neither seeks truth as he ought, nor pays the obedience due to his Maker, who would have him use those discerning faculties he has given him, to keep him out of mistake and error. He that does not this to the best of his power, however he sometimes lights on truth, is in the right but by chance; and I know not whether the luckiness of the accident will excuse the irregularity of the proceeding. This, at least, is certain, that he must be accountable for whatever mistakes he runs into: whereas he that makes use of the light and faculties God has given him, and seeks sincerely to discover truth by those helps and abilities he has, may have this satisfaction in doing his duty as a rational creature, that though he should miss truth, he will not miss the reward of it." Locke's Works, Vol. iii., p. 137.

The whole tenor of his celebrated work, "The Reasonable-

ness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures,"* is opposed to the doctrinal theology that makes many intricate and mysterious speculations essential to a sound faith in Christ. The Trinity is never recognised in it as a dogma of the Christian religion; and the popular opinions receive little if any countenance,—that human nature is utterly corrupted, that we inherit a propensity to sin,—that sin is an infinite evil, and that only an infinite being, a partner in the Godhead, could make the infinite satisfaction which divine justice required. With these supposed deficiencies in his representations of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures, Locke was charged in his own day by several writers; but, in repelling the charge, he generally confines himself to re-asserting, that such dogmas were not essential and fundamental, and might be held or modified, or rejected, without the forfeiture of the Christian name, so long as the plain, easy, and intelligible summary of revealed religion was adhered to,—that Jesus is the promised Saviour, and being raised from the dead, has been constituted the Lord and Judge of mankind, to be their King and Redeemer. Locke, indeed, admits that his work was regarded with disfavour, because of its supposed tendency,—for he writes to Limborch; "many readers have been shocked by certain thoughts which they find at the beginning of the book, and which do not altogether accord with the commonly received doctrines."†—Works, vol. x. p. 63.

We must, however, remember that the design of the work almost precluded the doctrines of speculative theology: it was his main object to shew, that all who receive Jesus Christ as

* Appendix E.

† "Il est vrai que plusieurs lecteurs ont été choquez (choqués) de certaines pensées qu' on voit au commencement de ce livre, lesquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-a-fait avec des doctrines communément reçues."

the Messiah, possessed of divine authority, are Christians, whatever in other respects may be the deficiencies or superfluities of their creed. The Christian, in Locke's view, was he who from the heart believed Jesus to be the appointed Saviour of mankind.*

By both these illustrious Englishmen, the Holy Scriptures were accepted as the authentic records of divine revelation, and as the repositories of the most important of religious truths. To the elucidation and interpretation of difficult portions of the sacred writings, they both devoted the energies of their minds; and from various passages in their works, we may gather how highly and reverently they estimated the instructions of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles.

"The authority of emperors, kings, and princes," says Newton, "is human authority. The authority of councils, synods, bishops, and presbyters, is human. The authority of the prophets is divine, and comprehends the sum of religion, reckoning Moses and the Apostles among the prophets."—Horsley's Newton, vol. v., p. 304.

When in Holland, Locke wrote a paper entitled "Pacific Christians," probably for the use of a religious society; and Brewster assures us, that Newton's assent and consent to the leading articles contained in it would certainly have been given. The paper recites:

"We think nothing necessary to be known, or believed, for salvation, but what God hath revealed.

"We, therefore, embrace all those who, in sincerity, receive the Word of Truth revealed in the Scripture, and obey the light which enlightens every man that comes into the world.

* For the influence of Locke's Writings consult Tayler's "Retrospect of the Religious Life of England," sect. vii., p. 342-364; and Wallace's "Anti-Trinitarian Biography," vol. iii., p. 406-410.

“ We judge no man in meats, or drinks, or habits, or days, or any other outward observances, but leave every one to his freedom in the use of those outward things, which he thinks can most contribute to build up the inward man in righteousness, holiness, and the true love of God and his neighbour, in Christ Jesus.

“ We hold it to be an indispensable duty for all Christians to maintain love and charity in the diversity of contrary opinions: by which charity we do not mean an empty sound, but an effectual forbearance and good-will, carrying men to a communion, friendship, and mutual assistance, one of another, in outward, as well as spiritual things; and by debarring all magistrates from making use of their authority, much less their sword, (which was put into their hands only against evil-doers,) in matters of faith or worship.

“ One alone being our master, even Christ, we acknowledge no masters of our assembly; but if any man, in the spirit of love, peace, and meekness, has a word of exhortation, we hear him.”—King’s Life of Locke, p. 273, 274.

With simplicity, and yet with great nobleness of expression, Locke writes to his friend Philip à Limborch; * “during this

* “ *Hac enim hyeme, in quo consisteret fides christiana, diligenter apud me cogitando, ex ipsis scripturæ s. fontibus hauriendum duxi, semotis quibuscunque sectarum et systematum opinionibus et orthodoxiis. Ex intentâ et accuratâ N. Testamenti lectione novi fœderis status et evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur meridianâ luce clarior, nec quid et fides christiana dubitari posse, sincero evangelii lectori, mihi persuasissimum est. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut eâ melius partium inter se convenientiam, et harmoniam, et fundamenta, quibus inniterentur, sedate et per otium contemplerer. Cum omnia in hoc meo symbolo sana, et verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos consulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide senserint, viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum, aliosque, quos ita id argumentum tractâsse fateri cogor, ut quid*

winter (1695) by thinking diligently within myself, in what the Christian faith consists, I have proceeded to derive it from the very fountains of the Holy Scripture, separate from the opinions and orthodoxies of sects and systems. From an attentive and careful reading of the New Testament, the nature of the new covenant and the doctrine of the Gospel, have appeared, and seemed to me, clearer than the noon-day light; nor, as I am most thoroughly convinced, is it for a sincere reader of the Gospel to be able to doubt as to what the Christian faith is. I have thrown my thoughts on paper, that I might thus the better contemplate, calmly and at my leisure, the agreement and harmony of the parts among themselves, and the foundations on which they rest. When all things in this my creed appeared sound, and every where conformable to the divine word, I proceeded to consult theologians, (especially the reformed,) that I might see what they thought concerning the faith. I went to Calvin, Turretine, and others, who, I am compelled to confess, have so treated the argument, that I could by no means accept what they say, or what they intend; every thing in them appears to me so different from the sense and simplicity of the Gospel, that I could neither understand their writings, nor, indeed, reconcile them with the sacred code. At length, with better hope, I took your *Theologia* in hand, nor without extreme joy, did I read c. viii. b. v., in which I perceived that one theologian was found, to whom I was not altogether a heretic."—Locke's Works, vol. x. p. 46, 47.

When distinguishing the separate provinces of faith and

dicant, quid velint, capere nequaquam possim; adeo dissona mihi in illis omnia, videntur à sensu et simplicitate evangelicâ, ut illorum scripta intelligere, nedum cum sacro codice reconciliare, non valeam. Tandem spe meliore, tuam in manus cepi Theologiam, nec sine summo gaudio legi, cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquem reperiri theologum, cui ego non plane essem hæreticus."

reason, after showing that revelation cannot be admitted against the clear evidence of reason, though on subjects where reason cannot judge revelation ought to be hearkened to, he affirms that reason "is not injured or disturbed, but assisted and improved by new discoveries of truth coming from the eternal fountain of all knowledge. Whatever God hath revealed is certainly true; no doubt can be made of it. This is the proper object of faith: but whether it be divine revelation or no, reason must judge; which can never permit the mind to reject a greater evidence to embrace what is less evident, nor allow it to entertain probability in opposition to knowledge and certainty. There can be no evidence that any traditional revelation is of divine original, in the words we receive it, and in the sense we understand it, so clear and so certain as that of the principles of reason: and, therefore, nothing that is contrary to, and inconsistent with, the clear and self-evident dictates of reason, has a right to be urged or assented to as a matter of faith, wherein reason hath nothing to do. Whatever is divine revelation ought to over-rule all our opinions, prejudices, and interest, and hath a right to be received with full assent. Such a submission as this, of our reason to faith, takes not away the landmarks of knowledge: this shakes not the foundations of reason, but leaves us that use of our faculties for which they were given us."—*Essay on Human Understanding*, book iv. c. 18., sec. 10.—*Locke's Works*, vol. iii., p. 145, 146.

So important for the guidance of our minds in religious inquiries are Locke's views on this subject, that we may be pardoned for bringing them forward at greater length. "If the provinces of faith and reason are not kept distinct by these boundaries, there will, in matters of religion, be no room for reason at all; and those extravagant opinions and ceremonies

that are to be found in the several religions of the world, will not deserve to be blamed. For to this crying up of faith, in opposition to reason, we may, I think, in good measure, ascribe those absurdities that fill almost all the religions which possess and divide mankind. For men having been principled with an opinion, that they must not consult reason in the things of religion, however apparently contradictory to common sense, and the very principles of all their knowledge, have let loose their fancies and natural superstition; and have been by them led into so strange opinions, and extravagant practices in religion, that a considerate man cannot but stand amazed at their follies, and judge them so far from being acceptable to the great and wise God, that he cannot avoid thinking them ridiculous and offensive to a sober good man. So that, in effect, religion, which should most distinguish us from beasts, and ought most peculiarly to elevate us, as rational creatures, above brutes, is that wherein men often appear most irrational, and more senseless than beasts themselves. ‘Credo, quia impossibile est;’ ‘I believe, because it is impossible,’ might in a good man pass for a sally of zeal; but would prove a very ill rule for men to choose their opinions or religion by.”—Locke’s Works, vol. iii., p. 146, 147.

IV.—DEEP VENERATION FOR THE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES: THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE SCRIPTURES SHOULD BE READ.

Locke’s deep veneration for the authority of the Scriptures, appears in many of his writings. In his second reply to the Bishop of Worcester, he says, “My lord, I read the revelation of the holy Scripture with a full assurance that all it delivers is

true : and though this be a submission to the writings of those inspired authors, which I neither have, nor can have, for those of any other men ; yet I use the same way to interpret to myself the sense of that book, that I do of any other. First, I endeavour to understand the words and phrases of the language I read it in, *i. e.* to form ideas they stand for. If your lordship means anything else by forming ideas first, I confess I understand it not. And if there be any word or expression, which in that author, or in that place of that author, seems to have a peculiar meaning, *i. e.* to stand for an idea, which is different from that, which the common use of that language has made it a sign of, that idea also I endeavour to form in my mind, by comparing this author with himself, and observing the design of his discourse, so that, as far as I can, by a sincere endeavour, I may have the same ideas in every place when I read the words, which the author had when he writ them. But here, my lord, I take care not to take those for words of divine revelation, which are not the words of inspired writers ; nor think myself concerned with that submission to receive the expressions of fallible men, and to labour to find out their meaning, or as your lordship phrases it, interpret their sense ; as if they were the expressions of the Spirit of God, by the mouths or pens of men inspired and guided by that infallible spirit.”—Locke’s Works, vol. iv., p. 341, 342.

In his second vindication of the reasonableness of Christianity, he speaks to the same purport. “ If the reading and study of the Scripture were more pressed than it is, and men were fairly sent to the Bible to find their religion ; and not the Bible put into their hands only to find the opinions of their peculiar sect or party ; Christendom would have more Christians, and those that are would be more knowing, and more in the right than they now are.”—Locke’s Works,

vol. vii., p. 294. And again, "It is no wonder, therefore, there is so much ignorance amongst Christians, and so much vain outcry against it; whilst almost every distinct society of Christians magisterially ascribes orthodoxy to a select set of fundamentals, distinct from those proposed in the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles; which, in no one point, must be questioned by any of its communion. By this means, their people are never sent to the holy Scriptures, that true fountain of light, but hood-winked: a veil is cast over their eyes, and then they are bid to read their Bible. They must make it all chime to their church's fundamentals, or else they were better let it alone. For if they find anything there against the received doctrines, though they hold it and express it in the very terms the Holy Ghost has delivered it in, that will not excuse them. Heresy will be their lot, and they shall be treated accordingly."—Locke's Works, vol. vii., p. 297.

With the same forcibleness he writes, in the preface to his notes on the Epistles of St. Paul, "I have, for my own information, sought the true meaning, as far as my poor abilities would reach. And I have unbiassedly embraced what, upon a fair inquiry, appeared so to me. This I thought my duty and interest, in a matter of so great concernment to me. If I must believe for myself, it is unavoidable that I must understand for myself. For if I blindly, and with an implicit faith, take the pope's interpretation of the sacred Scripture, without examining whether it be Christ's meaning, it is the pope I believe in, and not in Christ; it is his authority I rest upon; it is what he says, I embrace: for what it is Christ says, I neither know nor concern myself. It is the same thing, when I set up any other man in Christ's place, and make him the authentic interpreter of sacred Scripture to myself. He may possibly understand the sacred Scripture as right as any man:

but I shall do well to examine myself whether that, which I do not know, nay, which (in the way I take) I can never know, can justify me in making myself his disciple, instead of Jesus Christ's, who of right is alone, and ought to be, my only Lord and Master: and it will be no less sacrilege in me, to substitute to myself any other in his room, to be a prophet to me, than to be my king or priest."—Locke's Works, vol. viii., p. 22, 23.

From extracts like these, we may be prepared to estimate the force of Sir David Brewster's remarks on the similarity between Newton and Locke in many of their opinions: "It is interesting to observe the coincidence of the religious views of Sir Isaac Newton with those of John Locke, his illustrious contemporary and friend, though, like Newton, he lived in communion with the Church of England. Yet it is obvious," as Lord King says, "from an unpublished reply to a work of Dr. Stillingfleet's, that he entertained a strong opinion that the exclusive doctrines of the Church of England were very objectionable,—that he thought them much too narrow and confined,—and that he wished for a much larger and easier comprehension of Protestants."—Brewster ii., p. 352; King, p. 272.

Brewster adds, "In a paper dated 1688, we find the following noble article" (in Locke's hand-writing), "which Newton would have countersigned, and which, without having adopted the peculiar opinions of these distinguished men, we regard as at once the essence and bulwark of Protestant truth."—Brewster ii., 353.

"If any one find any doctrinal parts of Scripture difficult to be understood, we recommend him,—1st. The study of the Scriptures in humility and singleness of heart: 2nd. Prayer to the Father of lights to enlighten him: 3rd. Obedience to what is already revealed to him, remembering that the prac-

tice of what we do know is the surest way to more knowledge ; our infallible guide having told us, if any man will do the will of Him that sent me, (his will) he shall know of the doctrines, John vii., 17 : 4th. We leave him to the advice and assistance of those whom he thinks best able to instruct him : no men, or society of men, having any authority to impose their opinions or interpretations on any other, the meanest Christian ; since in matters of religion, every man must know and believe, and give an account for himself."--Brewster ii., p. 353. King, p. 273.

V.--FORMATION OF THEIR THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM FROM THE SCRIPTURES ALONE : THE CONFIDENCE WHICH MAY BE FELT FROM BEING ABLE TO EXPRESS RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES IN THE VERY WORDS OF THE SACRED WRITINGS.

It was from the sacred Scriptures, and from them alone, that Newton and Locke formed their theological system. Aid and guidance they obtained from the various sources of knowledge and information that were open to them, but it was in submission to the authority of Christ, that they professed themselves Christians. Locke was frequently, and at times in the rudest manner, charged with entertaining Socinian views, and with having derived them from Socinian writers ; —but he invariably replies, that his religious opinions were founded upon the Scriptures, and that while he believed them to be set forth in the sacred volume, it was a matter of indifference to him with what names of reproach they might be assailed. When charged with expounding John xiv., 9, &c.,*

* "Jesus saith to him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou *then*, Shew us the Father," &c.

after the anti-Trinitarian mode, and with making Christ and Adam to be Sons of God, in the same sense as the Racovians generally do,—he replies; “I know not, but it may be true, that the anti-Trinitarians and Racovians understand those places as I do: but it is more than I know, that they do so. I took not my sense of those texts from those writers, but from the Scripture itself, giving light to its own meaning, by one place compared with another: what in this way appears to me its true meaning, I shall not decline, because I am told that it is so understood by the Racovians, whom I never yet read; nor embrace the contrary, though the ‘generality of divines’ I more converse with should declare for it. If the sense, wherein I understand those texts, be a mistake, I shall be beholden to you, if you will set me right. But they are not popular authorities, or frightful names, whereby I judge of truth or falsehood.”—Locke’s Works, vol. vii., p. 171, 172.

To the Unitarian, indeed, it is a strong ground of confidence that he can express the main articles of his faith in the very words of Christ or of his apostles; he does not resort to inferences, but rests on the direct teachings of the Saviour; he needs not the niceties of a verbal criticism, though there are passages to which such criticism must be applied, but he contents himself with the broad principles of the gospel, that God hath given us eternal life, and that we have this life in and through his Son. He does not suppose that Christ left the great doctrines of his religion unannounced, and that a later age, in a less pure condition of his church, was to develop its supposed mysteries, until after the lapse of eighteen hundred years the crowning stone was to be placed upon them, and a new dogma which the apostolic churches never dreamed of, be set up as a dogma of Christ’s religion. What the Unitarian

maintains as Christian truth, he states in the "form of sound words that cannot be condemned," and that need no earth-born infallibilities to give them greater certainty. "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord," Mark xii., 29. "*There is none good but one, that is, God,*" Mat. xix., 17. "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent," John xvii., 3. "But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him," John iv., 23. "When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven," Luke xi., 2. "That ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," Romans xv., 6. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them," II Cor. v., 19. "But now is Christ risen from the dead, *and* become the first fruits of them that slept. For since by man *came* death, by man *came* also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," I Cor. xv., 20-22.

Standing, then, on the foundation of the prophets and evangelists, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone, the Unitarian, when names of uncharitableness are applied to him, may answer with Locke: "Truly, I did not think myself so considerable, that the world need be troubled about me, whether I were a follower of Socinus, Arminius, Calvin, or any other leader of a sect among Christians. A Christian I am sure I am, because I believe 'Jesus to be the Messiah,' the King and Saviour promised, and sent by God: and, as a subject of his kingdom, I take the rule of my faith and life from his will, declared and left upon record in the inspired writings of the apostles and evangelists in the New Testament; which I endeavour to the utmost of my power, as is my duty, to under-

stand in their true sense and meaning. To lead me into their true meaning, I know (as I have above declared) no infallible guide, but the same holy Spirit, from whom these writings at first came. If the unmasker* knows any other infallible interpreter of Scripture, I desire him to direct me to him : until then, I shall think it according to my Master's rule, not to be called, nor to call any man on earth, Master. No man, I think, has a right to prescribe to me my faith, or magisterially to impose his interpretations or opinions on me : nor is it material to any one what mine are, any farther than they carry their own evidence with them."—Locke's Works, vol. vii., p. 359.

Such were the foundations on which Newton and Locke built their faith in Christianity, and such the means by which they endeavoured to learn the mind of Christ. The peculiar doctrinal opinions, to which their inquiries led them, are indeed of little importance compared with their honest-hearted love of truth. This is the gem upon their brow,—the light which we ourselves ought to follow. Tolerant, just, candid, and charitable, they present a fine example of the highest intellectual powers combined with the teachableness of childhood. Christ was their master, and him they followed, being sure that he spake the words of eternal life.

And surely their example, when meditated on, ought to shame the self-sufficient bigotry, which declares that all who do not receive the Athanasian creed, "shall without doubt perish everlastingly ;" or, as in the Roman Missal, that "without a belief of the existence of three adorable Persons in the Godhead, we cannot be Christians." Will any one be ex-

* Alluding to a work against Locke by Mr. Edwards, entitled "Socinianism Unmasked."

cluded from the fold of Christ, who adopts the Saviour's declarations as the foundations of his creed; or is there danger of perdition for those who desire truth in the purest love of it? To search the Scriptures is to obey Christ's command; and it will be the spirit in which we institute the search, not the conclusion at which we may arrive, that will decide our sentence at the last day. In the presence of such minds as Newton's and Locke's, how presumptuous are the denunciations of woe, woe everlasting, for imitating them in their reverence for divine revelation, and for arriving at convictions similar to theirs! Mistaken on some points in all probability they were, but their errors are those of an honest mind; and when the motives and intentions have been pure, the Searcher of hearts will make no strict inquisition into opinions conscientiously formed. "Whosoever," says the Great Teacher, "shall do the will of my Father, who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." —Mat. xii., 50.

VI.—EVIDENCE OF CONTEMPORARIES TO NEWTON'S THEOLOGICAL OPINIONS: LOCKE CHARGED WITH HOLDING SOCINIAN VIEWS.

The evidence of contemporaries is decidedly favourable to the conclusion, that Newton was at least Anti-Trinitarian. Whiston, who knew him well, says, "However, where Sir *Isaac Newton* had large and numerous Books of known Authority to be his Guides, he has spared no Pains to discover the Truth of Facts by them. Thus he has thoroughly, and with great Sagacity, traced the Affairs of the fourth Century, from the first Rise of Popery, even as far backward as the Days of *Athanasius*; whose History and Conduct he perhaps better knew than did ever

any other learned Man before him.”—Whiston’s Dissertations, p. 271. “Now, altho’ *Mr. Mede’s* Ignorance of the Popish and Anti-christian character of *Athanasianism* hindered him from exposing the Nakedness of such as he styles *Fathers*, Sir *Isaac Newton*, as throughly sensible of it, has fully discovered the Nakedness of these pretended *Athanasian Fathers*, but really of these *Athanasian* or *Anti-christian Heretics* in the latter half of the fourth, and former half of the fifth Century ; Which indeed he has done, to the great Satisfaction of such as love true Primitive Christianity, and to the utter Confusion of those that still support *Athanasianism* and *Popery* among us.”—Dissertations, p. 319.

Speaking of his discovery, that only such infants or little children as were capable of catechetic instruction were ever in the first and second centuries made partakers of baptism, Whiston says ; “This most important Discovery, I soon communicated to the World in this Paper, which both Bishop *Hoadley* and Dr. *Clarke* greatly approved ; but still went on in the ordinary Practice notwithstanding. I sent this Paper also, by an intimate Friend, Mr. *Haines*, to Sir *Isaac Newton*, and desired to know his Opinion : The Answer returned was this, that they both had discovered the same before : Nay, I afterward found that Sir *Isaac Newton* was so hearty for the Baptists, as well as for the *Eusebians* or *Arians*, that he sometimes suspected these two were the *two Witnesses* in the Revelation.”—Whiston’s Memoirs, p. 206 and 477. “I own myself,” he adds, “to be both an *Eusebian* and a *Baptist*.” Now Whiston’s Eusebianism was utterly opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity, and he would understand Newton’s Eusebianism to be of a similar stamp. “He (Newton) had early and thoroughly discovered that the old Christian faith, concerning the Trinity in particular, was then changed ; that what has long been called Arianism is no other than old

uncorrupt Christianity; and that Athanasius was the grand and the very wicked instrument of that change.”—Collection of Authentic Records, vol. ii., p. 1076.

The Mr. Haynes,* whom Whiston mentions, was Hopton Haynes, Esq., Weigher and Teller at the Mint, at the same time that Sir Isaac Newton,† with whom he had intimate intercourse for thirty years, was Master Worker. He was a Humanitarian, and on the testimony of Mr. Richard Baron, we learn, that to Haynes Sir Isaac Newton addressed the remarkable words: “*The time will come, when the doctrine of the incarnation, as commonly received, shall be exploded as an absurdity, equal to transubstantiation.*” Mr. Baron says also of Haynes: ‡ “He was the most zealous *unitarian* I ever knew; and in a conversation with him on that subject, he told me, *that Sir Isaac Newton did not believe in our Lord's pre-existence*, being a *Socinian* (as we call it) in that article; that Sir Isaac much lamented Mr. (Dr.) Clarke's embracing *Arianism*: which opinion, he feared, had been, and still would be, a great obstruction to the progress of christianity.”—Lindsey's Sequel to the Apology, p. 18, 19.

* Appendix G.

† See *Monthly Repository*, 1812, p. 434.

‡ Haynes “maintained an unsullied reputation, as a public servant, for more than half a century.” In the original Preface to “The Scripture Account of the Attributes,” &c., he gives a clear and impressive statement of his religious opinions, and of the foundation on which he built them: these agree in many particulars with the views of Locke and Newton. “I think, I write, I speak,” says he, “upon this important article, viz. *that the GOD and FATHER of JESUS CHRIST is the only true God*, with a clear understanding, and a clear conscience. I have no doubts, no scruples: no fear of offending God, or displeasing Christ: no secret misgivings that I am or may be mistaken: but a full and entire persuasion, that this foundation is most certain and infallible. I doubted early of the vulgar scheme: to solve my doubts, I read the Holy Scriptures, and them alone, for many years, with the

Newton's writings, as published between the years 1733 and 1785, furnish indeed but little direct evidence respecting his peculiar views on the Trinity and Person of Christ, yet a passage from his work on the Apocalypse may be best explained, by considering that Hopton Haynes has given a correct account of Newton's opinions. "For as the few and obscure prophecies concerning Christ's first coming, were for the setting up of the Christian religion, which all nations have since corrupted ; so the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Christ's second coming, are not only for predicting, but also for effecting, a recovery and re-establishment of the long-lost truth, and setting up a kingdom wherein dwells righteousness."—Horsley's *Newton*, vol. v., p. 449.

Socinianism, which Sir David Brewster, like many others, does not really understand, regards Christ "as a proper object of religious worship and invocation"; and Faustus Socinus in 1573 persecuted Francis Davides for opposing the custom of offering up prayers and divine worship to Jesus Christ. *Mosheim*, vol. iv., p. 509. Newton, therefore, may have been a Socinian,

greatest attention and caution ; with all earnest desire of finding the truth ; without any bias, prejudice, or prepossession. I had been bred up in great reverence for the ancient fathers, and the venerable names of Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Cranmer, &c. I preserve still a great but cautious veneration for these excellent persons : their memories will always be sacred with me, for those glorious attempts they made to rescue the christian religion from Romish error, idolatry, and superstition. But they can no longer impose upon me with their authority, though they may affect me with their reasonings. I will now be no Cranmerian, Lutheran, or Calvinist. Christ is my master, and the holy scriptures my rule, and only standard of divine truth. Fathers and councils, synods and convocations, ancients and moderns, both learned and holy men, are my fellow-servants : I embrace them as helps, but I will not follow them as infallible guides : I know none such but the holy scriptures."—Lindsey's *Sequel to the Apology*, p. 21, 22.

and yet maintain, as Brewster asserts, (vol. ii., p. 340), "that our Saviour was the object of worship among the primitive Christians." Newton's words are, "The beasts and elders, therefore, represent the primitive Christians of all nations; and the worship of these Christians in their churches is here represented under the form of worshiping God and the Lamb in the temple; God, for his benefaction in creating all things, and the Lamb for his benefaction in redeeming us with his blood; God, as sitting upon the throne and living for ever, and the Lamb, as exalted above all by the merits of his death." "This was the worship of the primitive Christians."—Horsley's Newton, vol. v., p. 455. God as supreme, Christ as subordinate, are here spoken of by Newton; but God as supreme, Christ as subordinate, are of the essence of the Unitarian doctrine, that "there is one God and one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus."

The charge of Socinianism, like that of witchcraft, one of the terrors of the seventeenth century, was made, we have seen, against Locke; as in his day and since it has been made against many, whose religious views have been in advance of their age and church; but he never admitted the justice of the accusation, and invariably put his opponents to the proof of what they affirmed. The Bishop of Worcester condemned portions of his *Essay of Human Understanding*, as militating against the doctrine of the Trinity, and Locke replied; "In my whole essay, I think there is not to be found anything like an objection against the Trinity." (Works, iv., p. 4.) Indeed, it was very improbable, that in a work of that nature the doctrine should even be alluded to. Locke complains of the unfairness of having his name brought into the controversy, and declares; "If your lordship had showed me any thing in my book, that contained or implied any opposition in it to

anything revealed in holy writ concerning the Trinity, or any other doctrine contained in the Bible, I should have been thereby obliged to your lordship for freeing me from that mistake, and for affording me an opportunity to own to the world that obligation, by publicly retracting my error." "The holy Scripture is to me, and always will be, the constant guide of my assent; and I shall always hearken to it, as containing infallible truth, relating to things of the highest concernment. And I wish I could say, there were no mysteries in it: I acknowledge there are to me, and I fear always will be. But where I want the evidence of things, there is yet ground enough for me to believe, because God has said it: and I shall presently condemn and quit any opinion of mine, as soon as I am shown that it is contrary to any revelation in the holy scripture. But I must confess to your lordship, that I do not perceive any such contrariety in any thing in my *Essay of Human Understanding*."—*Works*, iv., p. 96.

The Toleration Act, from the benefits of which all were excluded who wrote against the doctrine of the Trinity, was passed in 1689, and Locke wrote the above in 1696–7,—and needed to be careful not to admit charges of scepticism and unbelief which might be used to his prejudice, and which could not in fairness be deduced from his publications; yet in the same controversy with the Bishop of Gloucester, dated May 4th, 1698, the very year in which the Act for the Suppression of Blasphemy and Profaneness was passed, he writes cautiously indeed, but very significantly about the Trinity. Addressing the Bishop, he uses the words;—"You say, 'a proposition is offered me out of Scripture to be believed, and I doubt about the sense of it. As in the present case, whether there can be three persons in one nature, or two natures and one person.' My lord, my Bible is faulty again; for I do not

remember that I ever read in it either of these propositions, in these precise words, 'there are three persons in one nature, or there are two natures and one person.' When your Lordship shall shew me a Bible, wherein they are so set down, I shall then think them a good instance of propositions offered me out of Scripture; till then, whoever shall say that they are propositions in the Scripture, when there are no such words, so put together, to be found in holy writ, seems to me to make a new Scripture in words and propositions, that the Holy Ghost dictated not. I do not here question their truth, nor deny that they may be drawn from the Scripture: but I deny that these very propositions are in express words in my Bible. For that is the only thing I deny here; if your lordship can show them me in yours, I beg you to do it."—Locke's Works, vol. iv., p. 343.

The fact appears to be that the Bishop wished to fix an opprobrium upon Locke's writings, because of their supposed bearing on a question of which they did not profess to treat, and to which they do not even allude; and Locke, like a skilful fencer, parried the Bishop's attack, and made him cut himself with his own weapons. Trinitarian in doctrine Locke cannot have been, to have written as he has done, when the simple avowal of belief in that doctrine would have disarmed all opposition on the part of his antagonists; but being unfairly charged with having upheld opinions that were obnoxious to the public, and liable to be visited with legal punishments, he was determined to admit no charge that could not be derived fairly and naturally from his published writings;—and for this he cannot surely be blamed.

VII.—LOCKE'S UNITARIANISM FROM HIS WORKS AND LETTERS: HIS PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS. EXALTED OFFICE AND ATTRIBUTES OF CHRIST.

Locke's Unitarianism, in the sense of One God in one person, the Father Almighty, is evident from his writings and letters. In his paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul,* we have several proofs of this fact. Thus, in I. Cor. viii., 6. "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him: and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him;" he gives this explanation:—"Yet to us Christians there is but one God, the Father and the Author of all things, to whom alone we address all our worship, and service; and but one Lord, viz. Jesus Christ, by whom all things come from God to us, and by whom we have access to the Father." Again, Rom. ix., 5., "Whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever;" the paraphrase is, "of them, as to his fleshly extraction, Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen:"—an interpretation which agrees in the main with the manner in which the passage was understood in the four first centuries after Christ, when many of the most eminent Christian writers denied in decided terms, that Jesus Christ was the God who is over all; maintaining that the title belongs exclusively to God the Father, and that to transfer it to Christ is unpardonable rashness and impiety.—See Yates's *Vindication of Unitarianism*, p. 182. Eph. i., 17, "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory." "Father of glory," Locke says is, "an Hebrew expression, which cannot well be changed, since it signifies his being glorious himself, being

* Appendix H.

the fountain from whence all glory is derived, and to whom all glory is to be given." I. Cor., xi., 3, "the head of every man is Christ,—and the head of Christ is God;" the paraphrase reads,—"Christ is the head to which every man is subjected;—and that the head, or superior, to Christ himself, is God." Eph. i., 20, the mighty power, "which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places," is thus explained; "a power, corresponding to that mighty power, which he exerted in the raising Christ from the dead, and in setting him next to himself, over all things relating to his heavenly kingdom."

In his letters to Philip à Limborch, in 1697 and 1698, Locke, speaking of the Divine Unity, says, "I am inclined to believe that the unity of God may be as plainly demonstrated as his existence, and that it can be established on proofs which will leave no reason to doubt respecting it. But I love peace, and there are people in the world who so strongly love bawlings and vain controversies, that I doubt whether I ought to furnish them with new subjects of dispute."*—Works, vol. x., p. 63. Again, "The question of which you speak to me, may be reduced to this, 'How can the unity of God be proved?' or in other words, 'How can we prove that there is but one God?'"†

* "Car, je suis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être aussi évidemment démontrée que son existence; et qu' elle peut être établie sur des preuves qui ne laisseront aucun sujet d' en douter. Mais j' aime la paix, et il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment si fort les criailleries et les vaines contestations, que je doute si je dois leur fournir de nouveaux sujets de dispute."

† "La question, dont vous me parlez, se réduit à ceci; 'Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée? ou en d'autres termes, 'Comment on peut prouver qu' il n' y a qu' un Dieu?'

"Pour résoudre cette question il est nécessaire de sçavoir, avant que

“To resolve this question it is necessary to know, before coming to the proofs of the unity of God, what we understand by the word God. The common idea, and as I think, the true idea, which they who recognise his existence, have of God, is, that he is ‘an infinite Being, eternal, incorporeal, and all perfect.’ Now this idea being once recognised, it seems to me very easy to deduce from it the unity of God. In fact, a being who is all perfect, or so to speak, perfectly perfect, can be but one, because an all-perfect being cannot be want-

de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de Dieu. L'idée ordinaire, et à ce que je crois, la véritable idée, qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoissent son existence, c'est, qu'il est ‘un Etre infini, éternel, incorporel, et tout parfait.’ Or cette idée une fois reconnue, il me semble, fort aisé, d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet, un être qui est tout parfait, ou pour ainsi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un être tout parfait, ne sauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections, ou degrés des perfections, qu'il lui importe plus de posséder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entièrement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir est une plus grande perfection que de n'en avoir point; avoir plus de pouvoir est une plus grande perfection que d'en avoir moins; et avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui est être tout puissant) c'est une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela posé; deux êtres tout puissans sont incompatibles; parce qu'on est obligé de supposer que l'un doit vouloir nécessairement ce que l'autre veut; et en ce cas-la, l'un des deux, dont la volonté, est nécessairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'est pas libre, et n'a pas, par conséquent, cette perfection-la: car il est mieux d'être libre, que d'être soumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne sont pas tout deux réduits à la nécessité de vouloir toujours la même chose, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prévaudra sur la volonté de l'autre, et ainsi celui des deux, dont la puissance ne sauroit seconder la volonté, n'est pas tout-puissant; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'est pas tout-puissant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne sauroit y avoir deux tout-puissans, ni par consequent deux Dieux.”

ing in any of the attributes, perfections, or degrees of the perfections, which it concerns him more to possess than to be deprived of. For, otherwise, it would so far follow of necessity, that he was not entirely perfect. For example, to have power is a greater perfection than to have none; to have more power is a greater perfection than to have less; and to have all power (which is to be all powerful) is a greater perfection than not to have all. That being established, two all-powerful beings are incompatible: because we are obliged to suppose, that the one must of necessity will what the other wills; and in that case, the one of the two, whose will is of necessity determined by the will of the other, is not free, and consequently, has not this very perfection: for it is better to be free, than to be subject to the determination of another's will. Suppose, however, they are not both reduced to the necessity of always willing the same thing, then the one is able to will to do that which the other might not will to be done, in which case the will of the one will prevail over the will of the other, and thus that one of the two, whose power might not be able to second his will, is not all-powerful; for he cannot do as much as the other. Thus one of the two is not all-powerful. Thus there is not, nor can there be, two *beings* all-powerful, consequently not two Gods."—Locke's Works, vol. x., p. 71, 72.

He then pursues the argument in connexion with the divine omniscience and omnipresence. "But if to annihilate the reasonings which I have just made, it be said that the two Gods supposed, or the two hundred thousand, (since for the same reason that there can be two, there can be two millions, inasmuch as there is no means of limiting the number,) if it is objected, I say, that several Gods have a perfect omnipotence, which may be exactly the same, that they have also the same knowledge, the same will, and that they exist equally in

the same place, this is only to multiply the same being, but in the foundation and in the truth of the thing, one merely reduces a supposed plurality to a veritable unity. For to suppose two intelligent beings, who know, will, and do unceasingly the same thing, and who have no separate existence, is to suppose in words a plurality, but to admit in fact a simple unity. For to be inseparably united in intention, in will, in action, and in place, is to be as much united as an intelligent being can be united to itself, and consequently to suppose that where there is such a union, there can be two beings, is to suppose a division without dividing, and one thing divided from its own self.*—Locke's Works, vol. x., 72, 73, for the original French.

He also says, "Do you suppose that any one, who recognises a God, can doubt that his Divinity is one? I, indeed, have never doubted."†—Works, x., p. 64, for the original Latin.

* "Que si pour anéantir les raisonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on suppose; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raison qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) si l'on oppose, dis-je, que plusieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute-puissance, qui soit exactement la même, qu'ils ont aussi la même connoissance, la même volonté, qu'ils existent également dans le même lieu, c'est seulement multiplier le même être, mais dans le fondé et dans la vérité de la chose on ne fait, que réduire une pluralité supposée à une véritable unité. Car de supposer deux êtres intelligens, qui connoissent, veulent, et font incessamment la même chose, et qui n'ont pas une existence séparée, c'est supposer en paroles une pluralité, mais poser effectivement une simple unité. Car être inséparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, et par le lieu; c'est être autant uni qu'un être intelligent peut-être uni à lui même, et par conséquent, supposer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux êtres, c'est supposer une division sans division, et une chose divisée d'avec elle-même."

† "Putasne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoscit, posse dubitare numen illud esse unicum? Ego sane nunquam dubitavi."

Locke's Philosophical Speculations do not properly belong to the subject we are considering, but on examining them we shall find, that they form the groundwork of the system which regards Religion as a power for good because it is true, and as entitled to our faith because it is reasonable. In his Essay on the Human Understanding, in the chapter on Enthusiasm, he says; "Reason is natural revelation, whereby the eternal Father of light, and fountain of all knowledge, communicates to mankind that portion of truth which he has laid within the reach of their natural faculties: revelation is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of, by the testimonies and proofs it gives, that they come from God. So that he that takes away reason, to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both, and does much-what the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope."—Works, iii, p. 149.

"Light, true light, in the mind, is or can be nothing else but the evidence of the truth of any proposition; and if it be not a self-evident proposition, all the light it has, or can have, is from the clearness and validity of those proofs upon which it is received. To talk of any other light in the understanding, is to put ourselves in the dark, or in the power of the Prince of darkness, and by our own consent to give ourselves up to delusion, to believe a lie. For if strength of persuasion be the light, which must guide us; I ask how shall any one distinguish between the delusions of Satan and the inspirations of the Holy Ghost? He can transform himself into an angel of light. And they who are led by this son of the morning are as fully satisfied of the illumination, *i. e.* are as strongly persuaded that they are enlightened by the spirit of God, as

any one who is so : they acquiesce and rejoice in it, are acted by it ; and nobody can be more sure, nor more in the right (if their own strong belief may be judge) than they."

" He, therefore, that will not give himself up to all the extravagancies of delusion and error, must bring this guide of his light within to the trial. God, when he makes the prophet, does not unmake the man. He leaves all his faculties in the natural state, to enable him to judge of his inspirations, whether they be of divine original or no. When he illuminates the mind with supernatural light, he does not extinguish that which is natural. If he would have us assent to the truth of any proposition, he either evidences that truth by the usual methods of natural reason, or else makes it known to be a truth which he would have us assent to, by his authority ; and convinces us that it is from him, by some marks which reason cannot be mistaken in. Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything."—Works, iii., 155, 156.

For the further pursuit of these speculations we must consult the Essay* itself, particularly the chapters on Reason, on Faith and Reason and their distinct Provinces, on Enthusiasm, and on Wrong Assent or Error. A general view of Locke's Philosophy, accompanied by notices of Descartes, Hume, Kant, &c., may be derived from a work published during the last year, and which contains a clear and masterly outline of the Progress of English Philosophy. "Locke's Writings and Philosophy historically considered, and vindicated from the charge of contributing to the Scepticism of Hume, by Edward Tagart, F.S.A., F.L.S." The accomplished author shows, that in laying down the chart of the human mind, "Locke supplied to Hume and his coadjutors, the French sceptics, none of the peculiar elements of their dog-

* Appendix I.

matic scepticism. But he did supply to Bentley, Law, Butler, Paley, Hartley, and many others, some of the elements or arguments for their benevolent religious faith. The practice of associating Locke's name with the scepticism of the former, rather than with the eminently religious spirit of the latter, betrays the ignorance and the prejudice of those who indulge in it. It is alike injurious and unjust. Let it be left to those who are aliens by birth and feeling, from the great commonwealth of English sincerity and sense. Let it be repudiated by those who should cherish with gratitude and pride, the names and memories of their great chiefs,—of men who have conquered new provinces from the domain of ignorance, darkness, and superstition, and secured them for the culture, enjoyment, and improvement of mankind.”—Tagart, p. 115, 116.

It is often supposed that Unitarians entertain what are denominated “low views” of the Person and Office of Christ, and that we regard him as being “altogether such a one as ourselves.” This supposition is a great injustice to our sentiments and inward convictions. Having been born of a human parent, having increased in stature and in wisdom, having suffered all the pains and trials of a mortal nature, and having, not in appearance but in reality, died upon the cross, Jesus we believe to have been a human being,—as who does not? his human nature is a part of every Christian's creed:—but in the power with which he acted,—in the authority which he possessed,—in the knowledge with which he was endowed,—in the work of salvation which he accomplished,—and in the glories to which he has been raised, we reverence and serve him as the beloved Son of our Heavenly Father, full of grace and truth;—his is the name which is above every name,—there is no redemption for our souls, but that which he has been appointed of God to effect; and we look to his coming

in the glory and power of the Father, for the resurrection of the dead, for the last judgment and for life eternal. When, then, Newton speaks of Christ, "as exalted above all by the merits of his death," and as "being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead, as by his supernatural birth of the virgin;"—and when Locke, in his paraphrase and note combined, on Rom. i., 3, says, "Jesus Christ our Lord; (who according to the flesh, *i. e.*, as to the body, which he took in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, his mother, was of the posterity and lineage of David :) According to the spirit of holiness, *i. e.*, as to that more pure and spiritual part,—which by divine extraction he had immediately from God, declared to be the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead;" there is nothing opposed to the strictest Unitarian doctrine. No supremacy is ascribed to Christ,—no equality, nor approach to equality, with the infinite and eternal Father; neither pre-existence nor Godhead is attributed to him. Newton, in a letter to Locke, asks; "Are you certain that the Ancient of Days is Christ? Does Christ anywhere sit upon the throne?"* His spiritual part is divine, "by divine extraction;" and so surely is the spiritual part of every spiritual intelligence, whether human or angelic? Christ's spiritual nature was, indeed, immediately from God; and believing that he enjoyed a fulness of divine communications, that without measure the Spirit of the LORD was upon him, that he was "The brightness of God's glory," "the express image of his perfections," Unitarians are as ready as any other Christians to acknowledge his exalted office and attributes. Eternal Life is the gift from God; but the knowledge and possession of this Life we hope for through Christ only. He reigneth King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, until every enemy shall be subdued, and God be all in all.

* King's Locke, p. 216.

VIII. — SAVING FAITH—WHAT IS NECESSARY TO IT: ENLARGED CATHOLICISM.

Locke expresses very clearly what he considers it necessary our faith should be, in order to become a Saving Faith. "Believing on the Son is the believing that Jesus was the Messiah; giving credit to the miracles he did, and the profession he made of himself."—Reasonableness of Christianity, Works, vol. vii., p. 17. "It will be objected by some, that to believe only that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, is but an historical, and not a justifying, or saving faith. To which I answer, That I allow to the makers of systems and their followers to invent and use what distinctions they please, and to call things by what names they think fit; But I cannot allow to them, or to any man, an authority to make a religion for me, or to alter that which God hath revealed. And if they please to call the believing that which our Saviour and his apostles preached, and proposed alone to be believed, an historical faith; they have their liberty. But they must have a care, how they deny it to be a justifying or saving faith, when our Saviour and his apostles have declared it so to be; and taught no other which men should receive, and whereby they should be made believers unto eternal life: unless they can so far make bold with our Saviour, for the sake of their beloved systems, as to say, that he forgot what he came into the world for; and that he and his apostles did not instruct people right in the way and mysteries of salvation. For that this is the sole doctrine pressed and required to be believed in the whole tenor of our Saviour's and his apostles' preaching, we have showed through the whole history of the evangelists and the Acts. And I challenge them to show that there was any other doctrine, upon

their assent to which, or disbelief of it, men were pronounced believers or unbelievers; and accordingly received into the church of Christ, as members of his body; as far as mere believing could make them so; or else kept out of it. This was the only Gospel-article of faith which was preached to them."—Locke's Works, vol. vii., p. 101, 102.

"The preaching of our Saviour and his apostles has sufficiently taught us what is necessary to be proposed to every man, to make him a Christian. He that believes him to be the promised Messiah, takes Jesus for his King, and, repenting of his former sins, sincerely resolves to live, for the future, in obedience to his laws, is a subject of his kingdom, is a Christian."—vol. vii., p. 352.

"He that thinks that more is, or can be required of poor frail man in matters of faith, will do well to consider what absurdities he will run into. God, out of the infiniteness of his mercy, has dealt with man, as a compassionate and tender Father. He gave him reason, and with it a law; that could not be otherwise than what reason should dictate; unless we should think, that a reasonable creature should have an unreasonable law. But, considering the frailty of man, apt to run into corruption and misery, he promised a Deliverer, whom in his good time he sent; and then declared to all mankind, that whoever would believe him to be the Saviour promised, and take him now raised from the dead, and constituted the Lord and Judge of all men, to be their King and Ruler, should be saved. This is a plain, intelligible proposition; and the all-merciful God seems herein to have consulted the poor of this world, and the bulk of mankind. These are articles that the labouring and illiterate man may comprehend. This is a religion suited to vulgar capacities; and the state of mankind in this world, destined to labour and travail. The writers and

wranglers in religion fill it with niceties, and dress it up with notions, which they make necessary and fundamental parts of it; as if there were no way into the church, but through the academy or lyceum. The greatest part of mankind have not leisure for learning and logic, and superfine distinctions of the schools. Where the hand is used to the plough and the spade, the head is seldom elevated to sublime notions, or exercised in mysterious reasoning." "That the poor had the Gospel preached to them; Christ makes a mark, as well as business of his mission, Mat. xi., 5. And if the poor had the Gospel preached to them, it was, without doubt, such a Gospel as the poor could understand;—plain and intelligible: and so it was, as we have seen, in the preachings of Christ and his apostles." —Reasonableness of Christianity, Locke's Works, vol. vii., p. 157 and 158.

It must indeed ever be acknowledged that it was not in the interests of a sect, nor as a partisan,* that Locke carried on his theological inquiries,—but in the interests of the common Christianity of all who believe our Saviour's divine commission. The great object which he proposed to himself, in his Reasonableness of Christianity, was to single out the leading principles of the Gospel, and to show that all are Christians, as far as belief is concerned, who adopt those principles. A foundation was thus laid by him for the most enlarged Catholicism,—not the exclusive system which usurps the name, but really the one fold unto the one Shepherd; comprising the Greek, Roman, and Protestant churches; the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Congregationalist, the Unitarian, and the Trinitarian. He places all on equal ground,—and upon this foundation would build up for all the glorious temple of Charity, and Righteousness of Life. It was in likeness to Christ's

* Appendix J.

character that he sought to fashion the Christian disciple, and while he established the uniformity of faith in the Saviour's divine authority, he left the widest latitude for the differences of opinion with respect to other doctrines. The soul free, and the church comprehensive, were his essentials,—and so long as these were acknowledged and acted on, the Christianity of the heart and life would be more at liberty to expand to its natural growth, and to afford shelter beneath its wide-spread branches to the weary and heavy-laden.

Chiefly, then, would I glory in the names of Locke and Newton, not because they nearly approach to, or exactly represent my own convictions, but because in exercising liberty of thought for themselves, they allowed liberty to all. They went to Christ, in the true spirit of discipleship, to learn from him, and not to impose upon others their interpretations of his mind. Honestly and persuasively they endeavoured to set forth the spirit and power of religion. This is their high praise, and for this they deserve our reverence;—they did not forget that the true glory cometh from God only, and that the servant must never assume the authority of his lord.

IX.—THE NATURE OF MAN; THE ATONEMENT BY CHRIST;
ELECTION AND PERSEVERANCE; THE FINAL STATE OF
THE WICKED; THE ORTHODOXY OF CHRISTIANITY, AND
THE ORTHODOXY OF SECTS.

Locke's views of the Nature of Man and of the Atonement by Christ are very far from the strictness of the Augustinian or Calvinistic theory. He uses, indeed, the expressions, vol. viii., 289,—“The Jews had the same corrupt nature common to them with the rest of mankind;” “the revolt from

God was universal, and the nations of the earth had given themselves up to idolatry:" but he also says, "that there were some among the heathen as innocent in their lives, and as far from enmity to God, as some among the Jews, cannot be questioned;" p. 288. The probability is that he maintained as true, that there had been an apostacy, or general declension from the righteousness of God's law, and that there would be a restoration or redemption, through the efforts and sufferings of Christ;—but the hereditary depravity and total corruption of our race, the wrath of God raging against us because of original and actual sin,—God demanding a full satisfaction before he would relent, and Christ an infinite Being bearing an infinite penalty,—these speculations make no part of his doctrinal system; his purpose in explaining the epistles of St. Paul did not lead him to argue against those speculations; he did not find them there, and consequently as a commentator on the sacred text, restricting his attention to what he believed to have been taught by the apostles, he passed them by almost unnoticed; they were foreign to the Christianity inculcated in the New Testament, and he did not travel out of the record to consider unscriptural opinions.

In his note on Galatians v. 16, 17,* he says, "This is evident, that St. Paul supposes two principles in every man, which draw him different ways; the one he calls Flesh, the other Spirit;—by flesh is meant all those vicious and irregular appetites, inclinations, and habitudes, whereby a man is turned from his obedience to that eternal law of right, the observance whereof God always requires and is pleased with."

* "*This* I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would."

“On the other side, spirit is the part of a man which is endowed with light from God, to know and see what is righteous, just, and good, and which, being consulted and hearkened to, is always ready to direct and prompt us to that which is good. The flesh then, in the Gospel language, is that principle, which inclines and carries men to ill; the spirit, that principle which dictates what is right, and inclines to good.”—Works, vol. viii., p. 65.

In Eph. ii. 5,* “dead in trespasses does not mean here, under the condemnation of death, or obnoxious to death for our transgressions; but so under the power and dominion of sin, so helpless in that state into which, for our apostacy, we were delivered up, by the just judgment of God, that we had no more thought, nor hope, nor ability, to get out of it, than men, dead and buried, have to get out of the grave. This state of death he declares to be the state of Gentilism, Col. ii. 13, in these words; ‘and you, being dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath God quickened together with him, *i.e.* Christ.’”—Vol. viii., p. 412.

Romans v. 12–19.† “Here he instructs them in the state

* “But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ.”

† “Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: (For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come. But not as the offence, so also *is* the free gift. For if, through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, *which is* by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as *it was* by one that sinned, *so is* the gift: for the judgment *was* by one to condemnation, but the free gift *is* of many offences unto justification. For if by one man’s offence death reigned by

of mankind in general, before the law, and before the separation that was made thereby of the Israelites from all the other nations of the earth. And here he shows that Adam, transgressing the law, which forbade him the eating of the tree of knowledge upon pain of death, forfeited immortality, and becoming thereby mortal, all his posterity, descending from the loins of a mortal man, were mortal too, and all died, though none of them broke that law but Adam himself: but by Christ they are all restored to life again. And God, justifying those who believe in Christ, they are restored to their primitive state of righteousness and immortality; so that the Gentiles, being the descendants of Adam as well as the Jews, stand as fair for all the advantages that accrue to the posterity of Adam, by Christ, as the Jews themselves, it being all wholly and solely from grace."—Vol. viii., p. 292.

"The doctrine of original sin," Locke says, in the Third Letter for Toleration, Works, vol. vi., p. 411, "is that which is professed and must be owned by the members of the church of England, as is evident from the xxxix Articles, and several passages in the liturgy: and yet I ask you, whether this be 'so obvious and exposed to all that diligently and sincerely seek the truth,' that one who is in the communion of the church of England, sincerely seeking the truth, may not raise to himself such difficulties concerning the doctrine of original sin as may puzzle him, though he be a man of study; and whether he may not push his inquiries so far, as to be staggered in his opinion?"

one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.) Therefore, as by the offence of one *judgment came* upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one *the free gift came* upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

“Benefits purchased by Christ’s blood,”—“the virtue and efficacy of Christ’s sufferings and death;”—“our Saviour by his death atoned for our sins,”—are phrases employed by Locke, and probably he attached high ideas to them;—as who does not, who is imbued with a feeling of thankfulness to Christ for what he did and endured? Whatever costs effort, sacrifice, or self-denial may, without a figure of speech, be declared to be purchased by that effort, sacrifice, and self-denial. The blessings of Christianity, great beyond estimation as they are, were obtained for us through and by our Saviour;—he shed his blood,—he laid down his life, for his friends. His sufferings and death possess, too, a value and efficacy beyond price:—not, indeed, as acting upon God, the Father of mercies, but as developing the mighty power of Christ’s beneficence, and leading him at last to the victory over our mortal nature, and our sinful condition. But “by his death he atoned for our sins:” Locke certainly did not mean by the expression, that in our stead he endured the punishment due to them,—nor that he appeased the supposed wrath of God. To take away sin, or to atone for sin, is to remove its penalties,—and death, the penalty which all human beings have paid and still pay, Christ will remove;—for he brought life and immortality to light, and through him the dead shall be raised incorruptible; “by Adam’s lapse,” says Locke, “all men were brought into a state of death, and by Christ’s death all are restored to life.”—Vol. viii., p. 291.

His views of the redemption wrought for us by Christ, in no respect contemplated a price paid to God, or any change produced in the divine mind, inclining it to a mercy that would not have been manifested, except for Christ’s interposition. The note on Rom. iii., 24-26,* places this in a clear

* “Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in

light, "Redemption signifies deliverance, but not deliverance from every thing, but deliverance from that, to which a man is in subjection or bondage. Nor does redemption by Jesus Christ import, there was any compensation made to God, by paying what was of equal value, in consideration whereof they were delivered; for that is inconsistent with what St. Paul expressly says here, viz., that sinners are justified by God gratis, and of his free bounty. What this redemption is, St. Paul tells us, Eph. i., 7,* Col. i., 14,† even the forgiveness of sins. But if St. Paul had not been so express in defining what he means by redemption, they yet would be thought to lay too much stress upon the criticism of a word in the translation, who would thereby force from the word, in the original, a necessary sense, which it is plain it hath not. That redeeming, in the sacred Scripture language, signifies not precisely paying an equivalent, is so clear, that nothing can be more so. I shall refer my reader to three or four places amongst a great number, Exod. vi., 6,† Deut. vii., 8,§ and xv., 12,|| and xxiv.,

Christ Jesus: Whom God hath set forth *to be* a propitiation (more correctly a propitiatory, or mercy seat,) through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; To declare, *I say*, at this time his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

* "He hath made us accepted in the beloved: In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace."

† "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated *us* into the kingdom of his dear Son: In whom we have redemption through his blood, *even* the forgiveness of sins."

‡ "I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments."

§ "— the LORD brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you out of the house of bondmen, from the hand of Pharaoh King of Egypt."

|| "And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold

18.* But if any one will, from the literal signification of the word in English, persist in it, against St. Paul's declarations, that it necessarily implies an equivalent price paid, I desire him to consider to whom: and that, if we strictly adhere to the metaphor, it must be to those whom the redeemed are in bondage to, and from whom we are redeemed, viz., sin and Satan. If he will not believe his own system for this, let him believe St. Paul's words, Tit. ii. 14, 'Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity.' Nor could the price be paid to God, in strictness of justice (for that is made the argument here;) unless the same person ought, by that strict justice, to have both the thing redeemed, and the price paid for its redemption. For it is to God we are redeemed, by the death of Christ, Rev. v., 9, 'Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.'"—Locke's Works, vol. viii., p. 276.

Against the doctrine of Election and Perseverance Locke speaks in no measured terms; "I cannot see of what use it is, unless it be to lead men into presumption and a neglect of duties, being once persuaded that they are in a state of grace, which is a state they are told they cannot fall from. For, since nobody can know that he is elected but by having true faith, and nobody can know when he has such a faith that he cannot fall from, common and saving faith, as they are distinguished,

unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee." v. 15. "And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee: therefore I command thee this thing to day."

* "Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, *nor* of the fatherless; nor take the widow's raiment to pledge: But thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee thence."

being so alike that he that has faith cannot distinguish whether it be such as he can fall from or no, (vide Calvin, Inst. l. 3. c. 2, 6, 12.)—who is elected, or has faith from which he cannot fall, can only be known by the event at the last day, and therefore is in vain talked of now till the marks of such a faith be certainly given.”—King’s Life, p. 295, or vol. ii., p. 98, 99.

Of the Demoniacs of the New Testament, Newton entertained the same opinions as those of the celebrated Physician, Dr. Richard Meade, “Tertullian,” he says, “somewhere challenges the heathens to produce a Demoniac, and he will produce a man who shall cast out the demon. For this was the language of the ancients for curing lunatics.”—Newton’s Letter in King’s Life, p. 223; or vol. i., p. 415.

Eternal Life in suffering and torment, Locke entirely rejects. His opinions on this subject are given in one of his Miscellaneous Papers, King’s Life, vol. ii., p. 139-151, entitled “*Resurrectio et quæ sequuntur*,” the Resurrection and its Sequences. He maintains that the punishment of transgression will be “excessively terrible by its duration as well as its sharpness;” but that the final catastrophe will be eternal death: destruction will at last prevail over sin and sinners;—“He that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption,” Gal. vi., 8. Of the wicked, he says that it is plainly declared in Scripture, “That they shall not live for ever.” Whatever objections might be urged against this theory, it is certain that it is far less repulsive than that which supposes an eternity of misery. The work of Christianity, on Locke’s hypothesis, is, indeed, imperfect,—it does not save all from their sins;—but the divine benevolence is not darkened by the hopeless agonies of everlasting tortures; Locke believed that a second and a final death would annihilate the wicked.

We must, however, remember that it was not to points of

belief that they attached the highest importance; they considered that Christ requires the correct and beneficent life, rather than the correct creed. "To a man who believes in Jesus Christ, that he is sent from God to be the Saviour of the world, the first step to orthodoxy is a sincere obedience to his law." "I lay it down," says Locke emphatically, "as a principle of Christianity, that the right and only way to saving orthodoxy, is the sincere and steady purpose of a good life. Ignorant of many things contained in the Holy Scriptures we are all. Errors also concerning doctrines delivered in Scripture, we have all of us not a few: these, therefore, cannot be damnable, if any shall be saved. And if they are dangerous, 'tis certain the ignorant and illiterate are the safest, for they have the fewest errors that trouble not themselves with speculations above their capacities, or beside their concern. A good life in obedience to the law of Christ their Lord, is their indispensable business, and if they inform themselves concerning that, as far as their particular duties lead them to inquire, and oblige them to know, they have orthodoxy enough, and will not be condemned for ignorance in those speculations which they had neither parts, opportunity, nor leisure to know. Here we may see the difference between the orthodoxy required by Christianity, and the orthodoxy required by the several sects, or as they are called, Churches of Christians."—King's Life, p. 281, 283, 284; or vol. ii., p. 79.

X.—NEWTON'S HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF TWO NOTABLE CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

It is to writings not published in their life-time that we must have recourse for the clearest evidence of Locke's and Newton's views of Trinitarian Doctrine. In his History

of the Royal Society, p. 284, Dr. Thomson had declared ;—
 “Newton’s religious opinions were not orthodox ; for example, he did not believe in the Trinity. This gives us the reason why Horsley, the champion of the Trinity, found them unfit for publication ;” yet Brewster, writing in 1830, considered the assertion of Sir Isaac Newton’s being an Anti-Trinitarian as “not warranted by any thing which he has published.” The Question really at issue is the fact itself,—and this fact must be substantiated, not simply by what they printed, but by what they wrote. The Manuscripts which they left must decide the controversy.

Sir Isaac Newton’s Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture, I. John v. 7,* and I. Tim. iii. 16,† published in his collected works by Horsley, might have been the production of any honest-minded man who desired the pure text of the Sacred Writings ; though it is very unlikely that a believer in the Trinity would have written as he has done : “it is,” he says to disarm hostility, “no article of faith, no point of discipline, nothing but a criticism concerning a text of Scripture, which I am going to write about.” Some expressions, however, reveal the *animus* with which he entered upon the criticism. A believer in the Trinity would have inserted some saving clause to vindicate the soundness of his faith in that particular dogma, and to show, though he was assailing one of its strongholds, that he still regarded it as a doctrine resting on a rock : he would scarcely have said of the baptismal formula, “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and

* “For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost : and these three are one.”

† “And without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness : God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.”

of the Holy Spirit," Matt. xxviii., 19, "the place from which they tried at first to derive the Trinity." Neither is it likely that a Trinitarian would have written ;—"Will you now say that the testimony of the 'three in heaven' was razed out of their books by the prevailing Arians? Yes, truly, those Arians were crafty knaves, that would conspire so cunningly and sly, all the world over at once (as at the word of a Mithridates,) in the latter end of the reign of the Emperor Constantius, to get all men's books into their hands, and correct them without being perceived, ay, and conjurors too, to do it without leaving any blot or chasm in their books, whereby the knavery might be suspected and discovered."—Horsley's Newton, vol. v., 496, 498, 508.

The comment on I. Tim. iii., 16, the other corruption which Newton exposed, savours too of Anti-Trinitarianism. "And besides, to read Θεός, makes the sense obscure and difficult. For how can it possibly be said 'that God was justified in the Spirit!' But to read Ο', and interpret it of Christ, as the ancient Christians did, without restraining it to his divinity, makes the sense very easy. For the promised and long expected Messiah, the hope of Israel, is to us 'The great mystery of godliness.' And this mystery was at length manifested to the Jews, from the time of his baptism, and justified to be the person whom they expected."—Horsley's Newton, v., 548

Locke's acquaintance with Newton began between the years 1688 and 1690, and it was then that Newton first communicated to Mr. Locke, in strictest confidence, the valuable papers on the Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture. "The author, with his characteristic timidity, shrunk from the responsibility of sending them forth to the public with the sanction of his name, and thus expose himself to the scoffs or the censures of the theological bigots of the age, who were either incompetent

or indisposed to appreciate the value of his labours. Mr. Locke was at this time meditating a voyage to Holland; and Sir Isaac's first purpose was, that he should take these papers with him, and, through the medium of some literary acquaintance, procure the translation and publication of them there in the French language. He wished in this manner, without bringing himself personally before the public, to ascertain the feeling and judgment of Biblical critics, as to the subjects of his work. Then 'After it had gone abroad long enough in French,' he 'might,' he states, 'perhaps put it forth in English.'"
 --King's Life of Locke, p. 229-230; or vol. i., 427-428.

The nature of this "Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture" it is interesting to re-consider, and we give it in Brewster's words:--

"This celebrated treatise relates to two texts in the Epistles of St. John and St. Paul, the first of these is I. John, v., 7, 'For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.' This text he considers as a gross corruption of Scripture, which had its origin among the Latins, who interpreted the Spirit, Water, and Blood, to be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in order to prove them one. With the same view Jerome inserted the Trinity in express words, in his version. The Latins marked his variations in the margins of their books; and in the twelfth and following centuries, when the disputations of the schoolmen were at their height, the variations began to creep into the text in transcribing. After the invention of printing, it crept out of the Latin into the printed Greek, contrary to the authority of all the Greek manuscripts and ancient versions, and from the Venetian press it went soon after into Greece. After proving these positions, Sir Isaac

gives the following paraphrase of this remarkable passage, which is printed in Italics,—

“ *Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God*, that Son spoken of in the Psalms, where he saith, ‘Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.’ *This is he that*, after the Jews had long expected him, *came*, first in a mortal body, *by baptism of water, and* then in an immortal one, by shedding his *blood* upon the cross, and rising again from the dead; *not by water only, but by water and blood*; being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead, (Acts, xiii., 32-33,)* as by his supernatural birth of the virgin, (Luke, i., 35.)+ *And it is the Spirit* also, *that* together with the water and the blood, *beareth witness* of the truth of his coming; *because the Spirit is truth*; and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. *For there are three that bear record* of his coming; *the Spirit* which he promised to send, and which was since shed forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues, and in various gifts; *the baptism of water*, wherein God testified ‘this is my beloved Son:’ *and the shedding of his blood*, accompanied with his resurrection, whereby he became the most faithful martyr, or witness of this truth. *And these three*, the spirit, the baptism and passion of Christ, *agree in witnessing one* and the same thing, (namely, that the Son of God is come;) and, therefore, their evidence is strong; for the law

* “And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.”

† “And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.”

requires but two consenting witnesses, and here we have three : *and if we receive the witness of men, the threefold witness of God*, which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptism, ‘this is my beloved Son,’ by raising him from the dead, and by pouring out his spirit on us, *is greater*; and therefore ought to be more readily received.”—Brewster, vol. ii., 331-333.

The text of the heavenly witnesses is now indeed given up, by the most eminent biblical scholars, as a notorious corruption. Porson, in his letters to Archdeacon Travis, triumphantly proved that it ought not to form a part of the Sacred Text; and it demands the efforts of all who venerate the writings of the apostles to endeavour to purify the New Testament from an almost universally acknowledged forgery. Surely those who occupy the high places in the Christian church, should be able to say, “we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God : but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ.”—II. Cor., ii., 17.

In referring to these able letters, Sir Charles Lyell, as quoted by Brewster, remarks, “that by them the question was for ever set at rest.” “Had it been a question in science, it might have been expected that presumptuous error, when once sternly refuted, would not dare to re-appear; but theological questions are never set at rest, and the very corruption of the Sacred Text, which Sir Charles characterizes as having been ‘given up by every one who has the least pretension to scholarship and candour,’ has been defended in our own day by Dr. Burgess, Bishop of St. David’s, and afterwards of Salisbury, with a boldness of presumption and a severity of intolerance, unworthy of a Christian divine.”—Brewster’s Memoirs, ii., 334, 335.

“The other notable corruption of Scripture discussed by Sir Isaac, is that which he charges the Greeks with having

perpetrated in the text of St. Paul, *Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh.* According to him, this reading was effected 'by changing O' into ΘC, the abbreviation for Θεος,—whereas all the churches, for the first five hundred years, and the authors of all the ancient versions, Jerome as well as the rest, read 'Great is the mystery of godliness which was manifested in the flesh.' For this is the common reading of the Ethiopic, Syriac, and Latin versions to this day, Jerome's manuscripts having given him no occasion to correct the old vulgar Latin in this place."—Brewster, vol. ii., 335.

The opinions of critics, since the time of Newton, have been much divided in reference to this passage, I. Tim., iii., 16; a summary of those opinions we add from the Principles of Textual Criticism, by J. Scott Porter, p. 482.

"The first word of the second clause in this verse is variously read.

1. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.—'God was manifested.' This is the reading of the Received Text, approved by Mill, Bengel, Beriman, Woide, Henderson, Scholz, Davidson, and many other eminent critics.

2. Ὁς ἐφανερώθη.—'Who was manifested.' This reading Griesbach has taken into the text of the New Testament, and it is supported by Carpenter and Belsham; and also Dr. J. Pye Smith, though with some hesitation. •

3. Ὁ ἐφανερώθη.—'Which was manifested,'—referring to the *mystery* mentioned immediately before. Grotius, Sir Isaac Newton, Wetstein, Wakefield, Norton, and several other writers, prefer this reading."

The arguments for each of these readings are then stated and examined, and for several reasons which he adduces, Scott Porter concludes; "in my judgment the true reading is "*which*."—p. 493.

XI.—REASONS FOR CAUTIOUSNESS IN PUBLISHING THEIR RELIGIOUS OPINIONS : THE PERSECUTING LAWS AND BIGOTRY OF THEIR AGE AND COUNTRY.

Locke, as we have seen, refused to admit that his "Reasonableness of Christianity" could be charged with Socinianism, and Newton was careful not to offend the prejudices of his contemporaries; the intolerant spirit and persecuting laws of the age in which they lived were most weighty reasons for not obtruding their theological opinions upon the public. If they had been called on openly to avow their faith, these reasons would not, indeed, have availed to justify any evasion or subterfuge, but were sufficient to induce caution, and to make them confine the free expression of doctrinal views to their friends and intimate associates. "In the Toleration Act passed in 1689,* before Newton had sent his Dissertation to Locke, an exception was made of those who wrote against the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; and in the Act for the Suppression of Blasphemy and Profaneness, (Act 9 and 10, William III., 1698,) it was provided, that whoever, 'by printing,

* "In the first charter of religious liberty," says Lord King, p. 177, or vol. i., 327, "as much was granted as the prejudices of the time would permit. The Unitarians, who were not allowed to enjoy the benefit of that act, were afterwards relieved by a subsequent statute of George III. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, so long resisted, and at last so happily conceded, was the next great step towards the attainment of religious liberty and peace. The repeal of the laws which, since the reign of Charles the Second, have excluded our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects from their civil rights, and from their due share of political power, has now confirmed THAT JUST AND TRUE LIBERTY, THAT EQUAL AND IMPARTIAL LIBERTY, WHICH WE HAVE SO LONG STOOD IN NEED OF."

teaching, or advisedly speaking, denied any of the persons of the Holy Trinity to be God.' should 'for the first offence be disabled to have any office or employment, or any profit appertaining thereto.'"--Brewster, vol. ii., p. 339.

It is well for us to know the full dangers that were incurred by Anti-Trinitarian writers.* The penalty, on conviction, for the second offence was; "To be disabled from any right of suing, prosecuting, pleading, or using any action or information in any court of law or equity, from being guardian to any child, or executor, or administrator of any person, or capable of receiving any legacy or deed of gift, or of bearing any office, civil, or military, or any ecclesiastical benefice, for ever within this realm, and an imprisonment for three years, without bail or main-prize from the time of conviction."—Toulmin's History of Dissenters, p. 124.

And these laws were as actively enforced as they had been bigotedly enacted. "In 1693 was published a Treatise entitled 'A brief but clear Confutation of the doctrine of the Trinity.' It was industriously circulated, and copies of it under cover were directed to several peers, and to some members of the House of Commons. The attention of the legislature being called to it, their prejudices were awakened, and their fears of the spread of the sentiments it defended were alarmed. The House of Lords voted it an infamous and scandalous libel; it was ordered to be burnt in Old Palace Yard by the hands of the common hangman; and inquiry after the author, printer, and publisher was instituted, and the attorney general was directed to prosecute them."—Toulmin, p. 176, 177.

"The partizans of orthodoxy in that day not only had recourse to censures, but adopted vigorous measures. In 1695 was

* Appendix K.

published a tract, reprinted by the London Unitarian Society, in 1793, entitled 'The designed End of the Socinian Controversy: or a rational and plain Discourse, to prove that no other person but the Father of Christ is God Most High;' by Mr. John Smith. 'The author discovers,' says the editor of the modern edition, 'a very considerable acquaintance with the Christian Scriptures, and a mind influenced by the love of truth.' These recommendations did not screen him or his work from resentment and the visitation of power. The work was seized, and the author apprehended."—Toulmin, p. 184, 185.

Speaking of the Blasphemy Act, Toulmin says, "The times in which it passed were not equally enlightened with the present; a great horror existed in the minds of most men against the sentiments which it was framed to suppress. Even such a spirited and upright advocate of civil and religious liberty as Andrew Marvell, could complain that there was 'a very great neglect somewhere, wheresoever the inspection of books was lodged, that at least, the Socinian books should be tolerated, and sell as openly as the Bible.' The dissenters, in the address of their body to King William in 1697, had intreated and urged him to stop the press against the Unitarians; in which request they had in view the tracts written and circulated under the patronage of Mr. Firmin." —p. 126.

In the state of the law, and of the public mind, as shewn by this evidence, there was of a certainty, as Brewster sets forth the fact,—“a warning to Anti-Trinitarians of every class, who either held office, or were desirous of holding it, to refrain from the public expression of their opinions; and we have no doubt that Newton was influenced by motives of this kind, when he desired Locke 'to stop the translation and impres-

sion of his papers,' and mentioned 'his design to suppress them.'"—Brewster, vol. ii., p. 339.

It does not appear that Newton really wished to conceal his sentiments, or that he ever pretended to hold opinions which he did not believe. Some of his manuscripts were written with great care, as if for publication, and "previous to his death, he burned many of his letters and papers, and left these theological writings behind him," which "makes it more than probable that he had no desire to suppress his opinions."—Brewster, vol. ii., p. 346, 347. Besides, neither Locke, nor Newton, was in a position that demanded any public declaration of their religious faith. They laboured indeed for truth, and really with greater effect by not obtruding their views upon an unwilling country. The way needed to be prepared for the growth of a liberal spirit in religion, and Locke, especially by his *Letters on Toleration* and by his writings on the Reasonableness of Christianity, did more for truth than if he had set himself directly counter to the hot prejudices of his times.

XII.—RECENTLY PUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S. THE ARTICLES OF HIS FAITH: THEIR CONCLUSIVE PROOF OF HIS UNITARIANISM.

There is, as we have intimated, considerable obscurity, not to name it a want of straight-forwardness, in Brewster's remarks on Newton's religious opinions. With the proofs before him from manuscripts in Newton's own writing, he ought, with far greater decisiveness, to have announced the fact that Newton was not, in any sense of the word, a Trinitarian. In the absence of much direct evidence he may, when writing the

life of Newton, in 1830, have come to the conclusion that he was a believer in the Trinity; but with the additional evidence published by himself in 1855, he should have more plainly revoked an opinion formed from very partial information. Except in the preface to his work, he does this rather by implication, than by an open avowal of having been mistaken. Why should one man of honest convictions fear to declare the whole truth respecting the honest convictions of another man? It would have manifested both more candour and more fearlessness, to have acknowledged that Newton's carefully prepared and written Theological Papers, leave it beyond a question that he was an Anti-Trinitarian.

Among these Theological Papers is one entitled "Paradoxical Questions concerning the morals and actions of Athanasius and his followers;" it is "in manuscript, beautifully written in Sir Isaac's own hand."—Brewster, vol. ii., 342–347. The Questions shew that Newton was no admirer of the Alexandrine bishop. Had the Athanasian Trinity been believed by him, he certainly would not have given so dark a picture of the character of Athanasius as a man.

Next to the Paradoxical Questions, "the most remarkable of the MSS., is one entitled *Irenicum, or Ecclesiastical Polity tending to Peace.*" An extract will shew how it bears upon the consideration of Newton's theological views. "The fundamentals, or first principles of religion, are the articles of communion taught from the beginning of the Gospel in catechising men in order to baptism, and admission into communion; namely, that the catechumen is to repent and forsake covetousness, ambition, and all inordinate desires of the things of this world, the flesh, and false gods, called the devil, and to be baptized in the name of one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of one Lord Jesus Christ,

the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost. See Heb. v. 12-14,* and vi. 1-3.†—Brewster, vol. ii., p. 530. This is plainly a Unitarian, and not a Trinitarian exposition;—mark, “one God, the Father Almighty, one Lord Jesus Christ.”

“QUÆRIES REGARDING THE WORD *ὑποουσιος*,” twenty two in number, show also the decided bias of Newton’s mind. “QUÆRE 1. Whether Christ sent his apostles to preach metaphysics to the unlearned common people, and to their wives and children?” “QUÆRE 11. Whether Athanasius, Hilary, and in general the Greeks and Latins did not, from the time of the reign of Julian the Apostate, acknowledge the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be three substances, and continued to do so till the schoolmen changed the signification of the word hypostasis, and brought in the notion of three persons in one single substance?” “QUÆRE 12. Whether the opinion of the equality of the three substances was not first set on foot in the reign of Julian the Apostate, by Athanasius, Hilary, etc.?” “QUÆRE 13. Whether the worship of the Holy Ghost was not first set on foot presently after the Council of Sardica?” “QUÆRE 14. Whether the Council of Sardica was not the first Council which declared for the doctrine of the Consubstantial Trinity? and whether the Council did not affirm that

* “For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which *be* the first principles of the oracles of God: and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk *is* unskilful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, *even* those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.”

† “Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. And this will we do, if God permit.”

there was but one hypostasis of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?"—Brewster, vol. ii., p. 532; 533.

Another of the MSS. is a paper of a few pages, entitled, "*A Short Scheme of the True Religion*:" one section, that on Idolatry, concludes with the following summary;—"We are therefore, to acknowledge one God, infinite, eternal, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, the Creator of all things, most wise, most just, most good, most holy. We must love him, fear him, honour him, trust in him, pray to him, give him thanks, praise him, hallow his name, obey his commands, and set times apart for his service, as we are directed in the Third and Fourth Commandments; for this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous, (I. John, v., 3.) And these things we must do not to any mediators between him and us, but to him alone, that he may give his angels charge over us, who being our fellow servants are pleased with the worship which we give to their God. And this is the first and principal part of religion. This always was, and always will be the religion of all God's people, from the beginning to the end of the world."—Brewster, vol. ii., 348.

But a paper which may be entitled "THE ARTICLES OF NEWTON'S FAITH," twelve in number, places his theological opinions in the most conspicuous light; these Articles are,

"ART. 1. There is one God the Father, everlasting, omnipotent, omniscient, almighty, the maker of heaven and earth, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.

"ART. 2. The Father is the invisible God, whom no eye hath seen or can see. All other beings are sometimes visible.

"ART. 3. The Father hath life in himself, and hath given the Son to have life in himself.

“ART. 4. The Father is omniscient, and hath all knowledge originally in his own breast, and communicates knowledge of future things to Jesus Christ; and none in heaven, or earth, or under the earth, is worthy to receive knowledge of future things immediately from the Father but the Lamb. And, therefore, the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, and Jesus is the Word or Prophet of God.

“ART. 5. The Father is immovable, no place being capable of becoming emptier or fuller of him than it is by the eternal necessity of nature. All other beings are movable from place to place.

“ART. 6. All the worship (whether of prayer, praise, or thanksgiving) which was due to the Father before the coming of Christ, is still due to him. Christ came not to diminish the worship of the Father.

“ART. 7. Prayers are most prevalent when directed to the Father in the name of the Son.

“ART. 8. We are to return thanks to the Father alone for creating us, and giving us food and raiment, and other blessings of this life, and whatsoever we are to thank him for, or desire that he would do for us, we ask of him immediately in the name of Christ.

“ART. 9. We need not pray to Christ to intercede for us. If we pray the Father aright he will intercede.

“ART. 10. It is not necessary to salvation to direct our prayers to any other than the Father in the name of the Son.

“ART. 11. To give the name of God to angels or kings is not against the First Commandment. To give the worship of the God of the Jews to angels or kings, is against it. The meaning of the commandment is, Thou shalt worship no other God but me.

“ART. 12. To us there is but one God, the Father, ‘of whom

are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things and we by him,'—that is, we are to worship the Father alone as God Almighty, and Jesus alone as the Lord, the Messiah, the Great King, the Lamb of God who was slain and hath redeemed us with his blood, and made us kings and priests.'"—Brewster's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., 349, 350.

The last article has in it a tinge of true Socinianism, that Jesus may be worshipped "as the Lord, the Messiah," &c ;—but the other articles are plainly Unitarian ;—there can scarcely be a more decided expression of faith in one God, the Father, to the exclusion of all partners or sharers in the Supremacy ; it is strictly a Monarchy, a government by one independent will,—not a Triarchy, or a government by three co-equal powers, that Newton maintains. All authority, save that of the Father, is delegated authority,—all other wisdom is communicated wisdom,—all other power is a derived power. The word worship, as used by Newton, admits of a two-fold interpretation,—the highest worship, and a subordinate worship ;—the former is to be paid to God alone,—the latter, certainly involving a deep veneration and a devoted reverence, is due to the Messenger of God's everlasting covenant. In no instance does Newton enjoin prayer to Christ,—nor indeed any worship which would imply that he is God ; "we are," he says, "to worship the Father alone as God Almighty."

The evidence thus adduced is most decisive that Newton,

"An assiduous, sagacious, and faithful interpreter
Of Nature, Antiquity, and the Holy Scriptures,"*

held to the old Christianity which prevailed when Jerusalem was the mother-church, and Rome an idolatrous city ; namely,

* "From the Epitaph in Westminster Abbey,—

'Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ
Sedulus, sagax, fidus Interpres.'

that the Father is the only true God, and that Jesus is the world-redeeming Saviour, whom the Father commissioned and empowered. There can now be no real question of the fact that Newton, as well as Milton, was an Anti-Trinitarian ;—or more correctly, as denoting the positive and not the antagonistic side of his faith, that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the Supreme in power, wisdom, and all other perfections. No Trinitarian of honest convictions could possibly write as Newton wrote, on this subject ;—and no Unitarian who desired plainly to enunciate his opinions, could more clearly than he has done, give expression to them. It would therefore be mere affectation any longer to doubt Newton's entire agreement with that section of the Christian Church which maintains, what I look on as the Faith in Apostolic times, that to Christians there is one God, the Father Almighty, and one Lord, Jesus Christ.

In his Preface, though not in the same words, Brewster fully admits the soundness of this conclusion :—“ I can hardly avoid,” he says, “ referring to Sir Isaac Newton's religious opinions. In the chapter which relates to them, I have touched lightly and unwillingly on a subject so tender, and in publishing the most interesting of the manuscripts in which those opinions are recorded, I have done little more than submit them to the judgment of the reader. Though adverse to my own, and I believe to the opinions of those to whom his memory is dearest, I did not feel myself justified, had I been so disposed, to conceal from the public that which they have long suspected, and must have sooner or later known. What the gifted mind of Newton believed to be truth, I dare not pronounce to be error. By the great Teacher alone can truth be taught, and it is only at his tribunal that a decision will be given on those questions,

often of words, which have kept at variance the wisest and best of men."--Brewster's Memoir, vol. i., p. xv.

Noble sentiments are these!--they do honour to Brewster's justly celebrated name. Why could he not carry the same fearless spirit into the body of the work, and as unhesitatingly declare Newton's religious opinions, as he does the great discoveries of science? For a just estimate of character the one is as important as the other;--they are both needed to show the full stature and countenance of the man. If we would know the mind that scanned the universe and opened to us some of the vast mysteries of Creation and Providence, we must read it on two sides;--on the one, how, as a Philosopher, he traced the Supreme Wisdom presiding over countless worlds;--on the other,--how, as a Christian, he adored that same Wisdom as the primal Source of Redemption for Mankind.

XIII.--MANUSCRIPTS LEFT BY LOCKE, FOR AND AGAINST THE TRINITY; FOR AND AGAINST THE DEITY OF CHRIST; DECIDEDLY UNITARIAN IN EXPRESSION AND SENTIMENT.--NOBLE CAUTION GIVEN BY LORD KING.

With equal decision, and from similar testimony, from Manuscripts brought to light within the last thirty years, we may pronounce that on the doctrine of the Trinity, there was a thorough co-incidence between the opinions of Locke and those of Newton. In the "Common Place Book," which Locke kept, and from which Lord King gives several extracts,*

* The quarto edition of Lord King's Life of Locke, in one volume, 1829, does not contain some of the extracts of which I have made use;--these have been taken from the octavo edition, in two volumes, 1830, and will be

there occur various passages to indicate his theological views : thus ;

“ UNITARIA.—The fathers before the Council of Nice speak rather like Arians than orthodox. If any one desire to see undeniable proofs of it, I refer him to the Quaternio of Curcillæus, where he will be fully satisfied.

“ There is scarcely one text alleged to the Trinitarians, which is not otherwise expounded by their own writers : you may see a great number of these texts and expositions in a book entitled *Scriptura S. Trin. Revelatrix*, under the name of St. Gallus. There be a multitude of texts that deny those things of Christ which cannot be denied of God, and that affirm such things of him that cannot agree to him if he were a person of God. In like manner of the Holy Ghost, which of both sorts you may find urged and defended in the two books of Jo. Crellius, touching one God the Father, and abridged in Walzogenius *Præpar. ad Util. Lection. N. T.*, 2, 3, 4, and also in the *Brief History*, let. 1, 5.”—Vol. ii., p. 102, 103.

Again,—“ TRINITY.—The Papists deny that the doctrine of the Trinity can be proved by the Scripture ; see this plainly taught and urged very earnestly by Card. Hosius de Auth. S. Script. l. iii., p. 53 ; Gordonius Hunlæius *Contr. Tom. Cont. de Verbo Dei*, c. 19 ; Gretserus and Tanerus in *Colloquio Rattisbon. Vega. Possevin. Wiekus*. These learned men, especially Bellarmin, and Wiekus after him, have urged all the Scriptures they could, with their utmost industry, find out in this cause, and yet, after all, they acknowledge their insufficiency and obscurity.

“ Curcillæus has proved, as well as anything can be proved indicated by the volume i. or ii., and the page ; it is the quarto edition to which reference is made when only the page is given.

out of ancient writings, that the doctrine of the Trinity, about the time of the Council of Nice, was of a special union of three persons in the Deity, and not of a numerical, as it is now taught, and has been taught since the chimerical schoolmen were hearkened unto."

"Concerning the original of the Trinitarian doctrines, from whom they are derived, or by whom they were invented, he that is generally and indeed deservedly confessed to have writ the most learnedly, is Dr. Cudworth, in his *Intellectual System*.*

* Cudworth maintains that the idea of God essentially includes Unity in it: that God is a Being absolutely perfect, unmade or self-originated, and necessarily existing, infinitely Good, Wise, and Powerful; and, "from the *Idea of God* thus declared, it evidently appears," says he "that there can be but *One* such Being, and that *Μόνωσις*, *Unity*, *Oneliness*, or *Singularity* is Essential to it: forasmuch as there cannot possibly be more than *One Supreme*, more than *One Omnipotent* or *Infinitely Powerful Being*, and more than *One Cause of all things* besides itself."—*Intellectual System*, Book I., c. iv., § 9 & 10, p. 207.

Thus far Locke's Argument, as adduced at page 34-37 of this Selection of Authorities, is founded on the same principles as Cudworth's; but the latter, "to satisfy those amongst us," he says, in his Preface, "who Boggle so much at the Trinity, and look upon it as the Choak-Pear of Christianity," enters into a full history of the various Trinities that have occupied the fancies of Pagan Philosophers, or of Christian Fathers: his object is to show on this Myste-rious Point of the Holy Trinity,—"*First, That it is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words, or of Logical Notions onely: But of Persons or Hypostases. Secondly, That none of those Persons or Hypostases, are Creatures, but all Uncreated, And Lastly, That they are all Three, Truly and Really One God.*" How Cudworth succeeds in this object must be gathered from his work itself;—yet it is a remarkable conclusion at which he arrives,—"*That from the Nature of Mind and Knowledge, it is Demonstrable, That there can be but One Original and Self-Existent Mind, or Understanding Being, from which all other Minds were derived.*"—*Intellectual System*, Book I., c. iv., p. 738. See Appendix L.

"TRINITY. —The divinity of the Holy Spirit was not believed, or, as I think, so much as mentioned by any in the time of Lactantius, i.e. Anno. 300, vid. Lact. Inst. l. 4, c. 29; Petavius de Trin. 1, c. 14. § 14, 21; Huet. Originian. l. 2. c. 2. 9. 2. § "—Vol. ii. p. 104, 105.

It appears that Locke, in 1694, commenced a Register of the progress and results of his investigations respecting several points of Controversial Theology, and which he entitled "ADVERSARIA THEOLOGIA." The Register is arranged in columns, almost like a merchant's ledger, and the portions, as given by Lord King, (Life of Locke, pp. 336–340, quarto edition;—Vol. ii., pp. 186–194, octavo edition,) which bear on the present question, are headed—

"TRINITAS.

"NON TRINITAS.

"CHRISTUS DEUS SUPREMUS." "CHRISTUS NON DEUS SUPREMUS."

Excepting in the form,* and in the verifications of the Scriptural references, the statements which Locke makes are;

"TRINITAS" *i.e.* for the Trinity.

"1. Gen. i., 26.¹ Let us.

"2. Man is become as one of us.

"3. Gen. iii., 22.² Gen. xi., 6, 7.³ Isaiah vi. 8.⁴

* The form I have taken from Wallace's Anti-Trinitarian Biography, vol. iii., p. 416–418;—a work which for its patient research, and impartial statements, endears the memory of its author to those who love learning, truth, and charity.

(1) "And God said, Let us make men in our image after our likeness."

(2) "And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil."

(3) "And the LORD said,—Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language."

(4) "Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us."

“NON TRINITAS” *i.e.* against the Trinity,

“ Because it subverteth the unity of God, introducing three gods.

“ Because it is inconsistent with the rule of prayer directed in the S.S. For if God be three persons, how can we pray to him through his Son for his spirit ?

“ The Father alone is the most high God. Luke i. 32, 35.⁵

“ There is but one first independent cause of all things, which is the most high God. Rom. xi. 36.⁶

“ The Lord shall be one, and his name one. Zech. xiv. 9.⁷

“ The Lord our God, the Lord is one. Mark xii. 29.⁸

“ ‘Tis life eternal to know thee (Father), the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.’ John xvii. 3.⁹ If the Holy Spirit were God, the knowledge of him would be necessary too, to eternal life. It is eternal life to know Christ as sent, not as eternally begotten, nor as co-essential to the Father.—Biddle, 1-24. I. Cor. viii. 5, 6.¹

(5) “ He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.—And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.”

(6) “ For of him, and through him, and to him, *are* all things: to whom *be* glory for ever. Amen.”

(7) “ And the LORD shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one LORD, and his name one.”

(8) “ And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments *is*, Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord.”

(9) “ And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.”

(1) “ For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many,) But to us *there is but one* God, the Father, of whom *are* all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom *are* all things, and we by him.”

“ There is one Spirit manifestly distinguished from God, *i.e.*, one created spirit by way of excellency ; *i.e.*, the Holy Spirit. 2. There is one Lord distinguished from God, and therefore made, else there would be two unmade Lords ; *i.e.*, one made Lord by way of excellency, which is Jesus. Eph. iv. 4-6 ;² Acts ii. 22, 23, 33, 36 ;³ Matt. xxiv. 36 ;⁴ Mark xiii. 32.⁵

“ Rom. xv. 6.⁶

“ John vi. 27.⁷

“ James iii. 9.⁸

(2) “ *There is* one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; One Lord, one faith, one baptism, One God and Father of all, who *is* above all, and through all, and in you all.”

(3) “ Ye men of Israel, hear these words ; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know : Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain. Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.”

(4) “ But of that day and hour knoweth no *man*, no, not the angels of heaven, - but my Father only.”

(5) “ But of that day and *that* hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.”

(6) “ That ye may with one mind *and* one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

(7) “ Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you : for him hath God the Father sealed.”

(8) “ Therewith bless we God, even the Father.”

“John viii. 54.⁹ The Jews knew no God but the Father, and that was St. Paul’s God.

“II. Tim. i. (2?) 3;¹ Acts iii. 13;² v. 30. 31;³ xxii. 14;⁴ Neh. ix. 6.⁵ Thou art Lord alone. Thou, denoteth a single person.

“1. Let us make man, no more proves the speaker to be more persons than one, than the like form, Mark iv. 30;⁶ John iii. 2;⁷ II. Cor. x. 1, 2.⁸

“2. This, if any thing, proves only that there was some other person with God whom he employed, as in the creation

(9) “Jesus answered, If I honour myself, my honour is nothing: it is my Father that honoureth me; of whom ye say, that he is your God.”

(1) “Grace, mercy, *and* peace, from God the Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God, whom I serve from *my* forefathers with pure conscience.”

(2) “The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Son Jesus.”

(3) “The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand *to be* a Princee and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins.”

(4) “And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth.”

(5) “Thou, *even* thou, *art* LORD alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all *things* that *are* therein, the seas, and all that *is* therein, and thou preservest them all; and the host of heaven worshippeth thee.”

(6) “And he said, Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God? or with what comparison shall we compare it?”

(7) “The same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him.”

(8) “But I beseech *you*, that I may not be bold when I am present with

of other things, so of man, viz. the Spirit, ver. 2;⁹ Psalm civ. 30;¹ Job xxvi. 13;² xxxiii. 4.³

“3. Gen. iii. 22.⁴ This was spoken also to the Holy Spirit, as also this, Gen. xi. 6, 7;⁵ Isa. vi. 8.”⁶—Lord King’s Life of Locke, p. 336–338, or ii., 187–189.

“The last three remarks,” says Wallace, “are evidently intended as replies to the arguments in favour of the Trinity, usually deduced from the passages given under the head. ‘TRINITAS.’”

“CHRISTUS DEUS SUPREMUS,” Christ the Supreme God.

“1. If Christ were not God, he could not satisfy for our sins.

“2. He is called the mighty God. Isaiah ix. 6.¹

that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold against some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh. For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh.”

(9) “And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.”

(1) “Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth.”

(2) “By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked serpent.”

(3) “The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.”

(4) “And the LORD God said, Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.”

(5) “And the LORD said,—Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language.”

(6) “Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, Here *am* I; send me.”

(1) “For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.”

3. "Rom. ix. 5.² "ὡν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας."

"CHRISTUS NON DEUS SUPREMUS," Christ not God Supreme.

"Because we are to honour him, for that the Father hath committed all judgment to him. John v. 22, 23.³ But the highest is to be honoured with the highest honour for himself, and for no other reason but his own sake.

"Because the love to the Father is made the ground and reason of love to the Son. I. John v. i.⁴ He is the Son of the Most High. Luke i. 32.⁵ The Father is greater than he. John xiv. 28.⁶

"Phil. ii. 5-8;⁷ v. Biddle, 5-24, nobody can be equal with himself; equality is always between two. Ib.

"I. Cor. viii. 6.⁸ By whom are all things, *i.e.* pertaining to

(2) "Whose *are* the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

(3) "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: That all *men* should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him."

(4) "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him."

(5) "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest."

(6) "If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the Father: for my Father is greater than I."

(7) "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

(8) "But to us *there is but* one God, the Father, of whom *are* all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom *are* all things, and we by him."

our salvation, ib. 7. God has made him Lord, Acts ii. 39; (36?)⁹ Phil. ii. 9, 10.¹

“The glory and thanks which we give to Christ, and the faith and hope which we place in him, do not rest in him, but through him tend to God the Father, Phil. ii. 9, 10;¹ I Pet. i. 21;² John xii. 44;³ Rom. i. 8;⁴ xvi. 27;⁵ and therefore he is not equal to God.

“He shall deliver up the kingdom, and be subject to the Father. I. Cor. xv. 24, 25, 28.⁶

“And he shall be subject according to his human nature. Rev. 1. This distinction is not to be found in God’s word. 2. It begs the question; for it supposes two natures in Christ, which is the thing in question. 3. It makes two persons in

(9) “God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.”

(1) “Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of *things* in heaven, and *things* in earth, and *things* under the earth; verse 11, And *that* every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ *is* Lord, to the glory of God the Father.”

(2) “Who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God.”

(3) “Jesus cried, and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me.”

(4) “First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.”

(5) “To God only wise, *be* glory through Jesus Christ for ever. Amen.”

(6) “Then *cometh* the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.—And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.”

Christ ; for he is to be subject who ruled and subdued, *i.e.* a person, for no other can be a king ; and therefore they must grant that the person of Christ, which they hold to be a Person of supreme Deity, delivereth up his kingdom, and becomes subject, or that his human nature is a person. The latter of these subverts the Trinitarian doctrine, the former itself, *ib.* 7. 4. It is said the Son himself shall be subject : but how can the Son himself become subject, if only a human nature, added to the Son, is subjected, and not the very person of the Son ? —Biddle 8–24. God has exalted him, and made him Lord, Phil. ii. 9, 11, and raised him from the dead. Rom. x, 9 ;⁷ iv. 24.⁸

“ If the eternal Son of God, co-equal, and co-essential with the Father, were conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, how said the Angel to Joseph, that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit ? Matt. i. 20.⁹ Biddle, 11–24.

“ Luke i. 35.¹

“ Acts x. 38.²

(7) “ That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.”

(8) “ But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead.”

(9) “ The angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife ; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.”

(1) “ And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee : therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.”

(2) “ How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power : who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil ; for God was with him.”

“ Luke xxii. 48.³

“ Matt. xxvii. 46.⁴

“ 1. How can God satisfy God? If one person satisfies another, then he that satisfies is still unsatisfied, or forgives.
Ib. 12.

“ John xx. 17.⁵

“ Eph. i. 7.⁶

“ Heb. i. 8, 9.⁷

“ 2. A mighty God : for, in the Heb., El Gibbor, not Hael Haggibbor, as the Lord of Hosts is called, Jer. xxxii. 18.⁸ Besides, the words in the close of ver. 7,⁹ distinguish Christ from the Lord of Hosts, making his Godhead depend on the bounty of the Lord of Hosts.—Biddle, 15-24.

(3) “ But Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss ?”

(4) “ And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani ? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?”

(5) “ Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not ; for I am not yet ascended to my Father : but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father ; and to my God, and your God.”

(6) “ In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.

(7) “ But unto the Son *he saith*, Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever : a sceptre of righteousness *is* the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity ; therefore God, *even* thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.”

(8) “ Thou shewest loving kindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them : the Great, the Mighty God, the LORD of hosts, *is* his name.”

(9) “ Is. ix. 7. Of the increase of *his* government and peace *there shall be* no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this.”

“3. A God over all, for Θεὸς there, is without an article. and so signifies not the Supreme Deity.”—Lord King’s *Life of Locke*, pp. 336-360, or vol. ii., p. 190-194.

Wallace observes, that “the remarks, numbered 1, 2, and 3 respectively, are to be regarded as answers to those who think that the doctrine of the Supreme Deity of Christ is taught in the passages referred to under the head ‘CHRISTUS DEUS SUPREMUS.’”

As of Newton, so of Locke, “the greatest man, of whom Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, could ever boast,”* we may confidently affirm, from the evidence now submitted, that he was a Unitarian Christian:—one God in one person, the Father of glory, and one Lord Jesus, the Christ and Saviour of the world, were the objects of his faith and reverence. His religion was built on the apostolic form of sound words; it was the Christian orthodoxy, to which he adhered,—“if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.” Rom. x. 9.

But in speaking of Locke’s Theological views, we would ever keep in mind the noble sentiments of his biographer, Lord King. “The religious opinions of this great man may best be collected from his own writings; to an ardent piety, and a firm belief in the religion he professed, was joined a truly Christian charity for all those who differed in opinion from him. The religion of Locke was that revealed in the Scriptures, which, in his opinion, was the most reasonable religion in the world. Of the particular form of his faith, it is more difficult to speak, because he was always averse to vain and idle disputations: but for the dogmatical and mysterious doctors of the Church he certainly had no predilection.

* Macaulay’s *England*, vol. i., p. 541.

Reason was his rule and guide in every thing ; toleration was his text ; and he abhorred those only who pervert that divine precept, which teaches,—to promote peace on earth, and good-will towards man. Those who rely upon his authority, and make use of his name, would do well to consider what manner of Christian he was ; and when they bid others believe because he believed, let them also teach as he taught, and practise those virtues which he practised.”—King’s Life of Locke, p. 272, or vol. ii., 62.

Weighty and solemn are these words ; would that myself, and all who regard Locke as a fellow-believer, might be directed and strengthened, to have our path like his,—“The path of the just, that shineth more and more to the perfect day.”

XIV.—VIEWS OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT,—OF THE CLERGY AND OF TRADITION. OFFERS OF CHURCH PREFERMENT.

The M.S. by Newton entitled, “*Irenicum, or Ecclesiastical Polity tending to Peace*,” details his opinions in twenty *Positions* or *Theses* concerning “The doctrines of Christianity, the government of the Church, and its relations to the State.” He supposes the government of the Christian Church to have had its foundation or origin from the Chief Rulers and Princes of the Synagogues among the Jews,—the Bishop being the President of the Council of Elders or Presbyters. “It is therefore the duty of bishops and presbyters to govern the people according to the laws of God and the laws of the king, and in their councils to punish offenders according to those laws, and to teach those who do not know the laws of God ; but not to make new laws in the name of either God or the king.” “The laws of the king extend only to things that are

left indifferent and undetermined by the laws of God, and particularly to the revenues and tranquillity of the church, to her courts of justice and to decency and order in her worship; and all laws about things left indifferent by the laws of God ought to be referred to the civil government."—Brewster, vol. ii., p. 527, 528.

In remarking on Hooker's description of the Church, Locke upholds individual liberty. The extract from his *Common-Place Book* on this subject is; "ECCLESIA.—Hooker's description of the Church, l. 1., § 15, amounts to this, that it is a supernatural but voluntary society, wherein a man associates himself to God, angels, and holy men. The original of it, he says, is the same as of other societies, viz. an inclination unto sociable life, and a consent to the bond of association, which is the law and order they are associated in. That which makes it supernatural is, that part of the bond of their association is a law revealed concerning what worship God would have done unto him, which natural reason could not have discovered. So that the worship of God so far forth as it has any thing in it more than the law of reason doth teach, may not be invented of men. From whence I think it will follow: 1st. That the Church being a supernatural society, and a society by consent, the secular power, which is purely natural, nor any other power, can compel one to be of any particular Church society, there being many such to be found. 2nd. That the end of entering into such a society being only to obtain the favour of God, by offering him an acceptable worship, nobody can impose any ceremonies unless positively and clearly by revelation enjoined, any farther than every one who joins in the use of them is persuaded in his conscience they are acceptable to God; for if his conscience condemns any part of unrevealed worship, he cannot by any sanction of men

be obliged to it. 3rd. That since a part of the bond of the association is a revealed law, this part only is unalterable, and the other, which is human, depends wholly on consent, and so is alterable, and a man is held by such laws, or to such a particular society, no longer than he himself doth consent. 4th. I imagine that the original of the society is not from our inclination, as he says, to a sociable life, for that may be fully satisfied in other societies, but from the obligation man, by the light of reason, finds himself under, to own and worship God publicly in the world."—King's Life of Locke, vol. ii., p. 99, 101.

In his Defence of Nonconformity, Locke shows that "to understand the extent, distinction, and government of particular Churches, it will be convenient to consider how Christianity was first planted and propagated in the world;" and that probably "the constitution and bounds of particular Churches in the most primitive times of Christianity" were "different from our present parochial congregations and episcopal dioceses;" different from the present parochial congregations, "because they were independent Churches, each of them governed within themselves by their own presbytery;" and from episcopal dioceses "they differ in this, that every great town, wherein there were Christians, was a distinct church, which took no greater extent round about for its parochia, than what would allow converts round about to have the convenience of communion and church-fellowship in common with the assemblies of Christians in that town; but afterwards, when these Churches were formed into episcopacies, under the government of single men, and so became subjects of power and matter of ambition, these parochias were extended beyond the convenience of church communion; and human frailty, when it is got into power, naturally endeavouring to extend the bounds of its jurisdiction, episcopal parochias were

enlarged, and that name being too narrow, was laid by, and the name of diocese, which signifies large tracts of ground, was taken to signify a bishoprick ; which way of uniting several remote assemblies of Christians and Churches under one governor, upon pretence of preventing schism and heresy, and preserving the peace and unity of the Church, gave rise to metropolitans and archbishops, and never stopped (nor indeed upon that foundation well could it,) till it at last ended in supremacy."—King's Life of Locke, vol. ii., p. 217, 218.

Newton evidently contemplated a sort of union of Church and State ; but whoever would understand the true nature of a Christian Church, should study Locke's "*Defence of Nonconformity*," and especially his noble "*Letters on Toleration*." In these he argues that the care of souls cannot belong to the civil magistrate ; that the Church is a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God ; and that, "whatever things are left free by law, in the common occasions of life, should remain free unto every church in divine worship." A clear estimate of the positions which Locke takes up and defends, may be gained from his description of what a church is. "I say, it is a free and voluntary society. Nobody is born a member of any church ; otherwise the religion of parents would descend unto children, by the same right of inheritance as their temporal estates, and every one would hold his faith by the same tenure he does his lands ; than which nothing can be imagined more absurd. Thus therefore that matter stands. No man by nature is bound unto any particular church or sect, but every one joins himself voluntarily to that society in which he believes he has found that profession and worship which is truly acceptable to God. The hopes of salvation, as it was the only cause of his entrance into that communion, so it can be

the only reason of his stay there. For if afterwards he discover any thing either erroneous in doctrine, or incongruous in the worship of that society to which he has joined himself, why should it not be as free for him to go out as it was to enter? No member of a religious society can be tied with any other bonds but what proceed from the certain expectation of eternal life. A church then is a society of members voluntarily uniting to this end."—Locke's Works, vol. vi., p. 13.

To the same effect, he says, "As to the law of the land, it can never be judged to be a sin not to obey the law of the land commanding to join in communion with the Church of England, till it be proved that the civil magistrate hath a power to command and determine what Church I shall be of." "It is a part of my liberty as a Christian and as a man to choose of what Church or religious society I will be of, as most conducing to the salvation of my soul, of which I alone am judge, and over which the magistrate has no power at all; for if he can command me of what Church to be, it is plain it follows that he can command me of what religion to be, which, though nobody dares say in direct words, yet they do in effect affirm, who say it is my duty to be of the Church of England, because the law of the land enjoins it."—King's Life of Locke, vol. ii., p. 214, 215.

In many of their views of Church Government it is, however, probable, that the two great philosophers were nearly of one mind,—Newton leaning to Episcopacy, and Locke, like Milton, to Congregationalism. Samuel Crellius, a distinguished German divine, who had embraced the opinions of Socinus, had several interviews with Newton in the year 1726; and he says of him, that "a few weeks before his death, he threw into the fire many manuscripts, written in his own hand. He left, however, some to be printed, among which is one entitled

Historia Dominationis Clericorum, as I was assured by his physician, the celebrated Dr. Mead.”—Brewster’s *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 390.

The Historian of Clerical Domination would in all probability have subscribed to Locke’s views as to the freedom of the worshipper in the service of God. “You can by no means, nor without the greatest tyranny, prescribe him a way of worship; which was so unreasonable to do, that we find scarce any attempt towards it by the magistrates in the several societies of mankind, till Christianity was well grown up in the world, and was become a national religion; and since that it hath been the cause of more disorders, tumults, and bloodshed, than all other causes put together.” “But far be it from any one,” he adds, “to think Christ the author of those disorders, or that such fatal mischiefs are the consequence of his doctrine, though they have grown up with it. Anti-christ has sown these tares in the field of the Church; the rise whereof hath been only hence, that the clergy, by degrees, as Christianity spread, affecting dominion, laid claim to a priesthood derived by succession from Christ, and so independent from the civil power, receiving (as they pretend) by the imposition of hands, and some other ceremonies agreed on (but variously) by the priesthods of the several factions, an indelible character, particular sanctity, and a power immediately from Heaven to do several things which are not lawful to be done by other men.” “Whereas it is evident from Scripture, that all priesthood terminated in the Great High Priest, Jesus Christ, who was the last Priest. There are no footsteps in Scripture of any so set apart, with such powers as they pretend to, after the Apostles’ time; nor that had any indelible character.”—King’s *Life of Locke*, vol. ii., p. 87, 88.

How the spiritual power, when once admitted, tends to

encroach upon the temporal power, Locke afterwards points out, and concludes, "that ordination, that begins in priesthood, if it be let alone, will certainly grow up to absolute empire; and though Christ declares himself to have no kingdom of this world, his successors have (whenever they can but grasp the power) a large commission to execute; and that a rigorously civil dominion. The Popedom hath been a large and lasting instance of this. And what Presbytery could do, even in its infancy, when it had a little humbled the magistrates, let Scotland shew."—King's Locke, p. 290.

But it is not simply by an inference from probability that we arrived at Newton's views respecting the claims of the clergy; he certainly did not acknowledge those claims to possess any peculiar force. In the *Irenicum* he says expressly: "The being of the Church does not depend upon an uninterrupted succession of bishops and presbyters for governing her;"* and again,—“To impose any article of communion not imposed from the beginning, is a crime of the same nature with that of those Christians of the circumcision, who endeavoured to impose circumcision and the observance of the law upon the converted Gentiles.” “All such impositions are teaching another gospel.” “The commission to teach and baptize was given to the Apostles, as the disciples of Christ, and to their disciples, and the disciples of their disciples, to the end of the world, there being no bishops, or presbyters, or church government yet instituted among Chris-

* Milton, in his views of the church and the ministry, construed the Scriptures in the manner most favourable to Christian liberty. “He teaches,” says Channing, “that the universal church has no head but Christ, and that the power arrogated by popes, councils, and bishops, is gross usurpation. In regard to particular churches, he is a strict Congregationalist.”—Channing's Works, vol. i., p. 30.

tians. But after the institution of government the governors appointed men to catechize and baptize, except in cases of necessity, when the original right returned. For Tertullian has told us that in his days the rule was, *In casu necessitatis quilibet laicus tingit*; "In case of necessity any layman whatever dips, *i.e.* baptizes."—Brewster's Newton, vol. ii., 529, 530, 531.

Locke entertained no favourable regard for the plea that the Scriptures are not a sufficient standard of Christian Faith and Practice, without Tradition. "The Jews, the Romanists, and the Turks," he says, "who all three pretend to guide themselves by a law revealed from Heaven, which shows them the way to happiness, do yet all of them have recourse very frequently to tradition, as a rule of no less authority than their own written law, whereby they seem to allow that the divine law (however God be willing to reveal it) is not capable to be conveyed by writings to mankind, distant in place and time, languages and customs; and so, through the defect of language no positive law of righteousness can be that way conveyed sufficiently and with exactness to all the inhabitants of the earth in remote generations; and so must resolve all into natural religion and that light which every man has born with him. Or else they give occasion to enquiring men to suspect the integrity of their priests and teachers, who, unwilling that the people should have a standing known rule of faith and manners, have, for the maintenance of their own authority, foisted in another of tradition, which will always be in their own power, to be varied and suited to their own interests and occasions."—King's Locke, vol. ii., p. 101, 102.

It is singular enough that in spite of such views of the church and of the clergy, both Locke and Newton had offers of church preferment. When we mark how liberal were their

ideas of religion, and how little in accord with the liturgy and articles of the Church of England,* we need not be surprised that both declined to enter, as the phrase is, into holy orders. Indeed they felt thoroughly that their opinions were not in harmony with those recognised in the formulas of the church, and though urged by some of the highest dignitaries to enter its pale, they invariably refused. Newton assigned as a reason that "he could do more good as a layman;" and such undoubtedly was the case, unless he could have given a cordial support to the doctrines and observances which the Church of England upheld."—King's Locke, p. 27. Brewster's Newton, vol. ii., p. 84.

XV.—RECAPITULATION OF PRINCIPLES AND DOCTRINES.

The highly important principles and doctrines which have their representatives in Locke and Newton, and in their great predecessor Milton,† now admit of being recapitulated; the evidence has been adduced, and a judgment may be formed.

Religion, and especially the Christian Religion, they rested on its reasonableness; they maintained freedom of inquiry, liberty for the individual conscience, and charity towards all

* Appendix M.

† A Triumvirate not to be surpassed for the riches of the intellect, and the deep earnest piety and worth of the character. Milton's "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone*," had a similar fate to that of Locke's and Newton's writings, which most clearly indicate their doctrinal opinions;—it was unpublished to his own times, and it has only been in our day, that the words have sounded forth,—"JOHN MILTON, TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST, AND TO ALL WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH, AND ETERNAL SALVATION IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." See Appendix N.

men. The Scriptures were searched by them as containing trustworthy records of divine instruction, and reverently they received whatever they discovered bearing the impress of heavenly truth. Christ they honoured, as the risen and triumphant Saviour, "who is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God through him." In their hearts and souls they accepted Christ as the Head of the Church of God, as the only Mediator, God's vicegerent to judge mankind at the last day; and through Christ, in his name, and by his express sanction and example, they worshipped the only true God, the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. To them God was revealed as the infinite and only source of Mercy, Wisdom, and Power. Him they sought to adore in spirit and in truth; and Him they served as the one Eternal King, all perfect and supreme. Theirs were the petitions to the throne of divine grace, which our Lord especially enjoined, when he said, Matt. vi., 9, "After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name." And theirs too was the religious worship which Christ practised, and which his apostles observed; the one praying, Matt. xxvi., 39, "O my Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will but as thou *wilt*;" the others declaring, like St. Paul, Eph. iii., 14, "I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and Eph. v., 20, "Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and like St. Peter, I Peter i., 3, "Blessed *be* the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead."

Thus following Christ in his example and teaching, and building up their entire faith upon his instructions, they pos-

sessed the full hope of the Christian. They looked to Him who, for the suffering of death, was crowned with glory and honour; and, when entering the dark valley, were animated by the hope that they were about to see Him as He is, in the perfection of his excellence, and in the all-encompassing beneficence of his reign. And when the infirmities of age came on, while they thanked God for the many blessings with which their earthly course had been accompanied, they were prepared in devout trustfulness to resign their souls to Him, as into the keeping of a righteous and merciful Creator. A better world was dawning to receive them, and the gates of death, they were assured, would be the portals of immortality.

There is surely something glorious in such characters as these; something inexpressibly refreshing to our spirits as we mark their onward course; something that sets forth the vital power of religion, and makes her what God intended her to be, the handmaid of virtue and progress to the human race. Foremost in intellect, loftiest in mental superiority, they deemed it still nobler in humility to follow him, who spake as never man spake, and whom they believed to have been manifested to take away the sin of the world. The highest power of investigation, so far from being a hindrance to the fullest conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, set forth in clearer light the reasonableness of Christianity, and rested faith on the rock of eternal reason. They saw one pervading purpose, like the universal gravitation that binds the stars to their orbits, control and guide the government of the Supreme; it is the purpose of carrying on his rational creatures to their destined perfection. The world will not remain a lost world; tossed to and fro it may have been, and apparently the sport of the waves, but in the Christian revelation anchorage has been found; the helmsman is equal to the perils and difficul-

ties of the voyage; and when the appointed ages shall have rolled by, the ransomed millions, ransomed by the truth and grace of God, which Christ manifested, shall enter their Father's house, and find prepared for them the mansions of eternity.

Blessed be God for this hope, which indeed points to an incorruptible inheritance! Our heavenly Father has created us intelligent and accountable beings; he redeems us by the ministry and agency of Christ, from the mortality of our nature, and the perversity of our will; and he regenerates and sanctifies our very souls, through the influences of his spirit of truth and holiness. Thus the self-same power that stretched forth the heavens for his tabernacle, and laid the foundations of the earth—the self-same Providence that supplies the wants of all creatures, and elaborates good out of evil—carries forward to a blessed consummation the plans of his merciful wisdom. His work, we are assured, will be completed in all its parts and properties; not a stone shall be wanting in the archway that conducts to life eternal; and the great human family, no longer divided into sects and rivalries, shall at last be raised to unchangeable purity and joy, and with the voice as of archangels acknowledge—there is none supremely good but one, and that is God.

It is deserving of our deepest attention, that Locke and Newton regarded religion as being especially personal to the various individuals of mankind. God and Christ and the soul itself, are alone the parties to be recognised. Other mediatorship than that of the Saviour they neither trusted nor needed; through him they found access to the Father. A priesthood, to convey grace and spiritual influences by its ministrations, they regarded as foreign to the Christian system. Christ was the perfect sacrifice offered once for all, and then ceased all priestly powers. In point of privilege, of communion with

God and of fellowship with Christ, one Christian has no superiority over another; we are to call no one upon earth our Master in religion, for one is our Master even Christ, and all we are brethren.—Matt. xxiii., 8.

Now, although they look to God and Christ alone for the accomplishment of their brightest expectations, and for the perfect deliverance of their souls, are they to hear the bidding of some self-sufficient Pharisee,—“Stand by, I am holier than thou?” And are they to be told, that their faith is unsound, and their hope a dream? Rather may we not say with full conviction, they take their stand upon the rock, and God is their shield! They build their temple of truth upon the Saviour’s teachings, and the storms of time cannot prevail against it? When all things else shall vanish away, theirs will be the substance unchanged by the fervent heat—God’s word by Christ spoken.

In this word they were rooted, and their characters grew from it. Under its powerful influences they made progress in the love of God and of men. A life of beneficence and integrity,—a life by Christian charity inspired, and by Christian virtue guided,—a life that set up the Great Exemplar for its copy, and his approbation as the goal of its highest ambition,—such was the result of their principles and religious convictions. The fruit is good; and the tree, can it be utterly corrupt? Of a certainty it has been grafted upon the true vine; it abideth in Christ, and the sap, as it courses through the veins and branches, yieldeth increase to life everlasting.

“Let no man, however, glory in men.” “Let him that glorieth,” saith the LORD,” “glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I *am* the LORD which exercise loving kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth: for in these *things* I delight, saith the LORD.” I would rejoice

in professing the principles which Locke and Newton illustrated by their lives, because they are principles of everlasting righteousness, and in adopting the creed which they attained to by patient and conscientious inquiry, because in the unity of God and in the mission of Christ I recognise eternal truths ; but I rejoice more that they were worthy setters-forth of the Christianity of Christ's Universal Church. It would, indeed, have been a sorrow and a discouragement, if minds so gifted, and souls so pure, had become estranged from the revealed truths of the Gospel, and taken their place outside of the Christian fold. The world of science might then have assumed that there was something unsound in Divine Revelation, and that it would ere long totter to its fall ; but when we see the most searching intellect and the most honest purpose cast in their lot with the disciples of Christ, and esteem fellowship with him their highest dignity, we attain to a firmer persuasion that our religion originated neither in credulity nor in imposture. There is a strength of argument in its evidences equal to any that establishes the great laws of outward nature, or that unravels the multiplied manifestations of the human mind. When Christianity discoursed to them of righteousness, self-denial, and retribution to come, they neither prejudged its claims, nor put off the enquiry ; they entered upon the investigation with a firm resolve well and truly to decide, and the verdict of their convictions and lives was, " God sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world."

It will, I think, have been noticed that no wild theories nor startling novelties distinguished the Unitarianism of Locke and Newton. Sober, clear, and eminently practical were the religious principles which they upheld. They did not branch off into a system, half mythical and half enthusiastic, and call it piety ; nor digress into a thousand fancies, and name them

rational. The New Testament, in its simple meaning, they found to be a sufficient creed; the testimony of evangelists and apostles, a genuine record. What might have been, if a different Gospel had been published, they did not weary themselves by conjecturing. The Gospel as it was, testified to by the life of Christ, and founded on his teaching, they hearkened to, as the Word of God,—the wisdom from above: they searched into its claims, and ascertained that they were authentic:—they welcomed it as the truth of heaven, and its purifying influence bore sway within their souls.

Soon after Newton's death, in expressing a desire for "some *Memoirs and Characters* of him as a private man," Pope thus bears witness to his worth:—"I doubt not his life and manners would make a great Discovery of Virtue and Goodness and Rectitude of heart, as his works have done of Penetration, and the utmost stretch of human knowledge." (Brewster's *Newton*, vol. ii., p. 522.) With Brewster's admirable summary of Newton's religious character, the desire of the great Poet is fulfilled: the glowing words! may they warn our souls to imitate what we cannot but approve!

"Cherishing the doctrines of Christianity, and leaning on its promises, he felt it his duty, as it was his delight, to apply to it that intellectual strength which had successfully surmounted the difficulties of the material universe. The fame which that success procured him, he could not but feel to be the breath of popular applause, which administered only to his personal feelings; but the investigation of the sacred mysteries, while it prepared his own mind for its final destiny, was calculated to promote the spiritual interests of thousands. This noble impulse he did not hesitate to obey, and by thus uniting philosophy with religion, he dissolved the league which

genius had formed with scepticism, and added to the cloud of witnesses the brightest name of ancient or of modern times."

"What wonder then that his devotion swelled
Responsive to his knowledge ! for could he,
Whose piercing mental eye diffusive saw
The finished university of things,
In all its order, magnitude and parts,
Forbear incessant to adore that Power
Who fills, sustains and actuates the whole."—THOMSON.

With respect to **Locke** and **Newton**, the portraiture of their theological views, and of themselves as religious men, is now completed, as far as I have been able to sketch it; the painting may want breadth, and depth, and finish, yet I would fain believe that it is not inaccurate in the chief features. Their ancestry, birth, and relations direct and collateral, the events of their lives, and the whole series of particulars which constitute a **Biographical Memoir**, were foreign to my purpose, and must be sought for in the ample materials supplied by **Lord King** and **Sir David Brewster**. I had one object in view, and, though many have been the temptations to digress into that wider field in which the choice flowers of their philosophy were growing, I have, I believe, not wandered far from the path which I assigned to myself,—that of tracing out their religious views and showing their co-incidences of opinion. In doing this, I have earnestly desired to represent them as they really were; as men of faith, who took **Christ's law and life** for their guide and example, and endeavoured to carry into practice in their daily course the principles of the gospel. It is thus that they give light to the world; they show that the religions of the intellect and of the heart may be most intimately blended, the one rendering strength or grace to the other; that in resting

religion on its reasonableness there needs be no diminution of the fervour of our devotion, or of the warmth of our beneficence ; and that in repudiating the authority of a church, or of a priesthood, to fix men's creeds, and to convey a supposed sacramental grace, there remain in full and unshackled force the teachings of Christ, the one infallible instructor, to excite in us that which is of truest worth, the love of God and of man.

XVI.—THE SOUL FREE TO FOLLOW TRUTH AND TO WORSHIP GOD. THE UNITARIAN DOCTRINE ESSENTIALLY CHRISTIAN.

In some of the less important dogmas of Religion, Unitarians of the present day do not indeed adopt the precise views and interpretations that were sanctioned by the authority of Locke and Newton. They were for liberty in religion,—a just and perfect liberty, a true and absolute liberty as far as freedom from human control extends. They bound themselves to no other guidance than that of divine truth, as it was unveiled to them by the providence of God. Heartily we take up this principle of theirs ; and though deriving pleasure from the thought that on the great doctrines of one Supreme and Infinite Jehovah, and of Christ's acting and teaching through God's Spirit of truth, they and we are one ;—we too must keep our souls prepared to receive whatever further light may break upon us from the works or word of the Supreme Wisdom. All plans and theories of religion we regard as unsound, that would interpose a barrier, either of church authority, or of sacramental ordinances, between the immediate communion of our minds with the mind of Christ. We are his freemen ;—he bought us out of bondage and paid the price ; and through him we enter into the glorious liberty of the children of God ;—it is the liberty to serve God in the

spirit, and to be conformed to the image of his Son. For this spiritual service man does not need "the pompous strain, the sacerdotal stole;" we find no help from any supposed succession to Apostolic authority, nor from any pretended consecration of the broad earth which, when it came from the Word of the Creator, that Word approved; "her Maker blessed his work, and called it good." The holiest temple is the human heart attuned to God's worship, and devoted to him when he made man in his image, and gave us understanding;—God's noblest work is the soul, which his truth has fashioned unto righteousness,—and every one thus regenerated is a priest, by God's holy spirit ordained, to offer the sacrifices of the heart.

"Then kneeling down to HEAVEN'S ETERNAL KING,
 The *saint*, the *father*, and the *husband* prays;
 Hope 'springs exulting on triumphant wing',
 That *thus* they all shall meet in future days:
 There ever bask in uncreated rays,
 No more to sigh or shed the bitter tear,
 Together hymning their *Creator's* praise,
 In such society, yet still more dear;
 While circling time moves round in an eternal sphere."—BURNS.

Free in their souls and in their worship free, Locke and Newton cherished towards the Saviour of mankind a veneration of the highest order; through him they saw God, and found a Father of infinite perfection. This veneration sprang from the conviction that with him there was a divine power which shaped his purposes, and gave him sovereignty over the soul. Their knowledge, like St. Paul's, was more of a triumphant Leader, "born to redeem, and strong to save," than of a scorned and suffering Messiah. Not indeed that they veiled from the eyes of their faith the scenes of Christ's humiliation, when, though

listening multitudes were astonished at his doctrines, he had not where to lay his head ;—nor that they forgot how the most precious lessons of wisdom, both in his life and teaching, were given as he was being perfected by sufferings ;—but they thought of him rather as what he is, the Son of God, seated at God's right hand, “for the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour,” than as what he had been, “the man of sorrows acquainted with grief,” led as a lamb to the slaughter, crucified and slain. And theirs is the true aspect in which Christ ought to be regarded, and especially by the Unitarian Church. We should believe in him, and think of him, not so much as the toil-worn wanderer, whom his chosen disciples had forsaken, as the One exalted by God to be the Prince and the Saviour, and associated with Him in the great work of human redemption. We derive indeed instruction, guidance, most heart-strengthening power from contemplating his trials, and how he endured, making God's will his own ;—but for our hope and faith we rest on the assurance that he came forth from the grave to be the author of eternal salvation : “we thus know not what we shall be, but when He who is our light shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.”

This faith which we possess is essentially Christian ;—it is not simply an opinion which sways us,—it is a conviction of the inner nature—a deep persuasion of the soul, that our life,—the hope of eternal life, “is laid up with Christ in God.” Our most cherished treasure is as secure as our Saviour's abode with the Father ; it is entrusted to the fidelity and unchangeableness of the Blessed and only Potentate, and when the season for restoration shall return,—the spring that never fades,—we shall receive from Christ himself the fulness of immortality.

All Christians believe Jesus of Nazareth to have been born of a human parent and to have been a human being, who felt human wants, anxieties and sufferings; but none, that he was a mere unassisted man. This is a designation disowned alike by the Scriptures and by common sense. "No man can do the miracles which this man doeth except God were with him," is a conclusion as sound as it is natural: "Never man spake like this man," is the voice of conviction that his Word was the wisdom of the Supreme, and his teaching with authority from God. Confessedly it was divine wisdom and divine power by which Jesus taught and acted while upon earth, and it is the same divine power and divine wisdom by which he now rules as the Head over all to his Church. Without the inconsistencies of Trinitarianism, we possess, as Unitarians, in our ideas of Christ, all that invests him with the attributes of God's vicegerent,—all that enables him to search our hearts, to know their thoughts, to weigh our actions and motives, and to decide with righteous judgment at the last day. What more than this can any system of Christianity undertake to show? What other system is not beset with irreconcilable dogmas, not to name them contradictions, which cannot all be true? The essence at least is ours, that Christianity is of heavenly origin; the substance belongs to us, that Christ wields the sovereignty which will renovate and redeem the world; and having the essence and the substance, why should we bewilder ourselves with needless mysteries? The things that are plain are for us and for our children: we have God manifested in the flesh, making known and revealing his grace and truth by Jesus Christ,—but not "an infant Deity," nor "a bleeding God:" we have God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,—but not one person of the Godhead bearing an infinite punishment to appease the indig-

nation of another person of that Godhead; we have a teacher and example, who, in the excellencies of his character, is "the brightness of God's glory," "the very image of his perfections,"—but yet one who himself leads us to worship the supreme as "his Father and our Father, his God and our God;" we have a Saviour in whom dwells the fulness of the Divine power bodily,—yet one, who when the purposes of his mediatorial reign shall have been accomplished, will deliver up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all.

Examine the doctrines of Christ, as he himself expounded them; take his example and character in all their purity and excellence; as Unitarians we admit whatever Christ taught to be true,—whatever he enjoined to be imperative;—thus to profess ourselves his disciples is essentially a Christian profession. Mark how the apostles proclaimed Christ raised from the dead through the power of God, and how, in their missionary enterprises and instructions, they constantly kept in view the great fact, that God had anointed Christ with the Holy Spirit and with power; and the great assurance that through him God will judge the world in righteousness; these, the essential truths of the earliest Christianity, are the landmarks of a Unitarian's faith. Follow next to the epistles of the sacred writers,—there is in them a constant reference to God as the source of all grace, and to Christ as the medium of that grace to man:—is not this also essentially Christian? Confessedly it is so, and the Unitarian admits it in all its extent. Pursue the inquiry a step further;—notice what is contained in that ancient symbol of the Christian system, the Apostle's creed; it will scarcely be questioned by any person that this creed expresses what it is needful and sufficient for a Christian to believe; and there is not a sentiment in it with which as Unitarians we do not agree. You would have us perhaps come

lower down the stream,—leave the pure bubbling waters of life where they rise, and dash in amid the foaming and tossing waves of theological controversy. We are not required so to learn Christ. We prefer the Master's feet; we would sit there to take in knowledge, satisfied that whoso heareth the words of Christ and doeth them is a Christian in faith and in practice;—he is a member of the True Church on earth, and will be gathered to the One Fold in heaven.

Simple in their majesty, and plain even in their mysteriousness, are these views of Christ our Lord. They place before us One whom God raised from the sepulchre; One who now reigns far above principalities and powers, and whom God hath appointed for the judgment of quick and dead; One who will come in the glory of the Father, and take to himself the penitent, the merciful, the peacemakers, and the pure in heart for the justified in his kingdom. Surely then to us, as to other Christians, Christ is the way, the truth, and the life; we find access unto God through him.

To show this it is never requisite to enter into controversies of a purely doctrinal character, the essential idea of Christianity is, that it is a religion of divine origin in its truths,—testified to by divine power in its miracles, and resting on the divine faithfulness in its promises: by adopting this essential idea, and by submitting to Christ as our Lord, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, we make the profession of Christianity; and there is no human authority that may set it aside. The Head of our Church is at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and we must all await his judgment. We look to him as the appointed Power which will unite us to the Spirits of the just, to himself the Mediator of the better covenant resting on nobler promises, and to God the judge of all.

These are the hopes of the Christian;—they rest upon faith in the Saviour;—they are inherently portions of the Wisdom from above;—and when that Wisdom is welcomed as our guide and trusted to as our deliverance, they will not fail of the Grace of Life Eternal.

March, 1856.

APPENDIX.

A.—p. 3.

For the rise of Latitudinarian Principles in England, consult Tayler's *Retrospect of the Religious Life of England*, ch. v., § 4, p. 304-312.

B.—p. 3.

"Of all the members of the Low Church party," says Macaulay, "Tillotson stood highest in general estimation. As a preacher, he was thought by his contemporaries to have surpassed all rivals, living or dead. Posterity has reversed this judgment. Yet Tillotson still keeps his place as a legitimate English classic. His highest flights were indeed far below those of Taylor, of Barrow, and of South; but his oratory was more correct and equable than theirs. No quaint conceits, no pedantic quotations from Talmudists and scholiasts, no mean images, buffoon stories, scurrilous invectives, ever marred the effect of his grave and temperate discourses. His reasoning was just sufficiently profound and sufficiently refined, to be followed by a popular audience with that slight degree of intellectual exertion which is a pleasure. His style is not brilliant; but it is pure, transparently clear, and equally free from the levity and from the stiffness which disfigure the sermons of some eminent divines of the seventeenth century.

He is always serious ; yet there is about his manner a certain graceful ease which marks him as a man who knows the world, who has lived in populous cities and in splendid courts, and who has conversed, not only with books, but with lawyers and merchants, wits and beauties, statesmen and princes. The greatest charm of his compositions, however, is derived from the benignity and candour which appear in every line, and which shone forth not less conspicuously in his life than in his writings.

“As a theologian, Tillotson was certainly not less latitudinarian than Burnet.”—Macaulay’s *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 469.

C.—p. 5.

Speaking of Locke’s *Essay on the Currency*, Macaulay says : “Somers was delighted with this little treatise, and desired that it might be printed. It speedily became the text book of all the most enlightened politicians in the kingdom, and may still be read with pleasure and profit. The effect of Locke’s forcible and perspicuous reasoning is greatly heightened by his evident anxiety to get at the truth, and by the singularly generous and graceful courtesy with which he treats an antagonist of powers far inferior to his own. Flamsteed, the Astronomer Royal, described the controversy well by saying, that the point in dispute was whether five was six or only five.” Macaulay’s *History of England*, iv., p. 633.

D.—p. 6.

It was at this time that Watts, who in his earlier days had represented Locke in heaven as repenting of the work on the *Epistles of St. Paul*, addressed to John Shute, afterwards Lord Barrington, some lines full of praise and

admiration, 'on Locke's dangerous Sickness;' they are dated June, 1704:—

“ And must the man of wondrous mind
 (Now his rich thoughts are just refined),
 Forsake our longing eyes?
 Reason at length submits to wear
 The wings of Faith; and lo, they rear
 Her chariot high, and nobly bear
 Her prophet to the skies.”

See Tagart's Writings and Philosophy of Locke, p. 447, 448.

E.—p. 6.

For the noble composure and perfect faith with which Locke contemplated and prepared for the close of earthly life, we may refer to “An Account of his Last Hours, Death, and Character,” as translated from Le Clerc's Eloge of Locke, in the Appendix to Tagart's Work, pp. 483–486. Two extracts, one in part given before, p. 6, will suffice to place the main features before us:—

“The study of Holy Writ had produced in him a piety lively and sincere, though far removed from affectation. As he remained a long time unable to go to church, he thought proper, some months before his death, to take the Lord's Supper at home, as is done in England, and two of his friends partook of it with him. When the minister began to officiate he said to him, ‘that his feelings were those of perfect charity towards all mankind, and of sincere union with the Church of Christ, by whatever name distinguished.’ He was too enlightened to take the Communion as a symbol of schism and division, as many ill-instructed people do, who, when they take the Communion in their church, condemn all other Christian societies. He was deeply penetrated with admiration of

the wisdom of God in the manner in which he willed the salvation of mankind, and when he conversed thereon, he could not refrain from exclaiming, 'Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God!' He was persuaded that every one must be convinced of this by reading the Scriptures without prejudice; and to this he exhorted often those with whom he conversed towards the close of his life. His application to this study had given him an idea of the Christian religion more noble and more enlarged than that which he had before entertained; and if he had had sufficient strength to commence new works, there is much ground for thinking that he would have composed some designed to convey to the minds of others, in all its vastness, this great and sublime idea."

"Thus died one of the most excellent philosophers of our day, who, after having thoroughly examined all parts of philosophy, and having developed its most secret mysteries with uncommon penetration and exactness, happily turned his attention to the Christian religion. He examined it at the fountain, and, with the same freedom with which he had treated the other sciences; and he found it so reasonable and so beautiful, that he consecrated the remainder of his life to it, and endeavoured to impart to others that high esteem which he had conceived for it. He mingled with it no melancholy, no superstition, as sometimes happens to people who give themselves up to devotion only after disappointment (*chagrin*). The same light which had guided him in his philosophical studies, guided him in that of the New Testament, and lighted up in his heart a piety perfectly rational, and worthy of Him who has given us *reason*, to profit by revelation, and whose revealed will supposes the use of all the good faculties which he has given, to know, to admire, and to obey it."

F.—(E.)—p. 13.

“In 1695 Locke published his Reasonableness of Christianity, according to the Scriptures, at first anonymously, but it was soon known to be his. This work may be considered the earliest philosophical defence of Revealed Religion in the English language, a defence of Christianity in the sense in which the Armenian or latitudinarian divines of the Church of England, and the learned English Presbyterian Dissenters of a later day, have understood it. After showing by copious extracts from the New Testament, that the one simple doctrine which lies at the foundation of the Christian faith is, that Jesus is the Christ, he vindicates its importance by a summary of the related principles, and of the advantages accruing from their establishment and diffusion. First, it made the ‘one invisible and true God’ known to the world, and that with such evidence and energy that polytheism and idolatry have no where been able to withstand it; Second, it gave that ‘clear knowledge of their duty which was wanting to mankind;’ Third, it brought in a plain, spiritual, suitable worship of the Deity, teaching every one to look after his own heart, and to know that it was that alone which God had regard to and accepted; Fourth, it brought the greatest encouragement to a virtuous and pious life by its doctrine of a future state—before our Saviour’s time not wholly hid, yet not clearly known—upon which foundation, and upon which alone, morality stands firm and may defy all competition; Fifth, and besides all this, it gives the promise of divine assistance, God’s spirit, to help us to do what and how we should. Whatever deficiencies there may be supposed to be in Locke’s view of revealed religion, the philosophical and devout religionist of every school will read with candour and delight, the admirable observations with which he has accompanied and en-

forced it, and the more he reads and ponders them, the more highly will he esteem their truth and beauty."—Tagart's *Locke's Writings and Philosophy Historically Considered*, p. 441, 442.

G.—p. 28.

"I have very great pleasure," says Macaulay, (vol. iv. p. 703, note) "in quoting the words of Haynes, an able, experienced, and practical man, who had been in the habit of transacting business with Newton. They have never, I believe, been printed. 'Mr. Isaac Newton, public Professor of the Mathematicks in Cambridge, the greatest philosopher, and one of the best men of this age, was, by a great and wise statesman, recommended to the favour of the late King for Warden of the King's Mint and Exchanges, for which he was peculiarly qualified, because of his extraordinary skill in numbers, and his great integrity, by the first of which he could judge correctly of the Mint accounts and transactions as soon as he entered upon his office; and by the latter,—I mean his integrity—he sett a standard to the conduct and behavior of every officer and clerk in the Mint. Well had it been for the publick, had he acted a few yéars sooner in that situation.' It is interesting to compare this testimony, borne by a man who thoroughly understood the business of the Mint, with the childish talk of Pope. 'Sir Isaac Newton,' said Pope, 'though so deep in algebra and fluxions, could not readily make up a common account; and, whilst he was Master of the Mint, used to get somebody to make up the accounts for him.' Some of the statesmen with whom Pope lived might have told him that it is not always from ignorance of arithmetic, that persons at the head of great departments, leave to clerks the business of casting up pounds, shillings, and pence."

H.—p. 33.

“ The four last years of his life were employed by Locke in the calm and diligent study of the Scripture ; and particularly of the writings of St. Paul. Of this, we have the pleasing and valuable fruits in the Paraphrase and Notes upon the Epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, and the Corinthians, (add the Ephesians) but more especially in the admirable preface, which appears to be the earliest work in English on the philosophical criticism of the Scriptures, a short piece, which no man who would study for himself the important records of revealed religion can be excused for neglecting to peruse. ‘ In his paraphrase and notes upon the Epistles of St. Paul,’ says Bishop Law, ‘ how fully does our author obviate the erroneous doctrines (that of absolute reprobation in particular) which had been falsely charged upon the Apostle ! And to Mr. Locke’s honour it should be remembered, that *he was the first of our commentators* who showed what it was to comment upon the Apostolic writings ; by taking the whole of an epistle together, and striking off every signification of every term foreign to the main scope of it ; by keeping this point constantly in view, and carefully observing each return to it after any digression ; by tracing out a strict, though somewhat less visible connection in that very consistent writer, St Paul, touching the propriety and pertinence of whose writings to their several subjects and occasions he appears to have formed the most just conception ; and thereby confessedly led the way to some of our best modern interpreters.’ ”—Tagart’s Writings and Philosophy of Locke, pp. 445, 446.

I.—p. 39.

Hallam, in his introduction to the Literature of Europe, vol. iv., p. 291, says ;—“ But the obligations which we owe to

him for the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, are never to be forgotten. It is truly the first real chart of the coasts ; wherein some may be laid down incorrectly, but the general relations of all are perceived. And we who find some things to censure in Locke, have perhaps learned how to censure them from himself ; we have thrown off so many false notions and films of prejudice, by his help, that we are become capable of judging our master. This is what has been the fate of all who have pushed onward the landmarks of science ; they have made that easy for inferior men which was painfully laboured through by themselves."

J.—p. 44.

"No quality more remarkably distinguishes Locke than his love of truth. He is of no sect or party, has no oblique design, such as we frequently perceive, of sustaining some tenet which he suppresses, no submissiveness to the opinions of others, nor, what very few lay aside, to his own."—Hallam's *Introduction to Literature of Europe*, vol. iv., p. 287.

K.—p. 61.

"The English, in 1689, were by no means disposed to admit the doctrine that religious error ought to be left unpunished. That doctrine was just then more unpopular than it had ever been. For it had, only a few months before, been hypocritically put forward as a pretext for persecuting the Established Church, for trampling on the fundamental laws of the realm, for confiscating freeholds, for treating as a crime the modest exercise of the right of petition. If a bill had then been drawn up granting entire freedom of conscience to all Protestants, it may be confidently affirmed that Nottingham would never have introduced such a bill ; that all

the bishops, Burnet included, would have voted against it ; that it would have been denounced, Sunday after Sunday, from ten thousand pulpits, as an insult to God, and to all Christian men, and as a license to the worst heretics and blasphemers ; that it would have been condemned almost as vehemently by Bates and Baxter as by Ken and Sherlock ; that it would have been burned by the mob in half the market places of England ; that it never would have become the law of the land, and that it would have made the very name of toleration odious during many years to the majority of the people. And yet, if such a bill had been passed, what would it have effected beyond what was effected by the Toleration Act ?

“ It is true that the Toleration Act recognised persecution as the rule, and granted liberty of conscience as the exception. But it is equally true that the rule remained in force only against a few hundreds of Protestant dissenters, and that the benefit of the exception extended to hundreds of thousands.” Macaulay’s History of England, vol., iii., p. 87, 88.

L.—p. 72.

With great power and beauty of illustration Cudworth carries out the Argument, that because there are Eternal Truths, there must be an Eternal Mind necessarily existing. “ And from hence it is Evident also,” he says, “ that there can be but *One only Original Mind*, or no more than *One Understanding Being Self Existent* ; all other *Minds* whatsoever *Partaking* of one Original Mind ; and being as it were Stamped with the Impression or Signature of one and the same Seal. From whence it cometh to pass, that all Minds in the several Places and Ages of the World, have *Ideas* or *Notions* of Things Exactly Alike, and *Truths Indivisibly the*

Same. Truths are not multiplied by the Diversity of *Minds* that apprehend them ; because they are all but *Ectypal Participations* of one and the same *Original* or *Archetypal Mind*, and *Truth*. As the same Face may be Reflected in several Glasses ; and the Image of the same Sun may be in a thousand Eyes at once beholding it ; and One and the same Voyce may be in a thousand Eares listning to it ; so when Innumerable *Created Minds*, have the same *Ideas* of Things, and Understand the same *Truths* ; it is but One and the same *Eternal Light*, that is *Reflected* in them all ; (*that Light which enlighteneth Every man, that cometh into the World ;*) or the same Voyce of that *one Everlasting Word*, that is never Silent, *Reechoed* by them.”—Intellectual System, Book I., chap. iv., p. 737.

M.—p. 91.

In the third Letter for Toleration we have some intimation of Locke's opinion : “ Can you therefore say, that there is nothing required to be believed and professed in the Church of England, but what lies ‘so obvious and exposed to all that sincerely and diligently seek it, and that no such person shall ever fail of attaining the knowledge of it ?’ What think you of St. Athanasius's Creed ? Is the sense of that so obvious and exposed to every one who seeks it ; which so many learned men have explained so different ways, and which yet a great many profess they cannot understand ? Or is it necessary to your or my salvation, that you or I should believe and pronounce all those damned who do not believe that creed, *i.e.* every proposition in it ? which I fear would extend to not a few of the Church of England ; unless we can think that people believe, *i.e.* assent to the truth of propositions they do not at all understand. If ever you were acquainted with a

country parish, you must needs have a strange opinion of them, if you think all the ploughmen and milkmaids at church understand all the propositions in Athanasius's Creed; it is more, truly, than I should be apt to think of any one of them; and yet I cannot hence believe myself authorized to judge or pronounce them all damned: it is too bold an intrenching on the prerogatives of the Almighty; to their own Master they stand or fall."—Locke's Works, vol. vi., p. 410.

N.—p. 91.

"We are unable within our limits to give a sketch of Milton's strong reasoning against the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ;" such is the remark of Dr. Channing in his Essay "*On the Character and Writings of John Milton.*" "We must, however, pause a moment," continues Channing, "to thank God that he has raised up this illustrious advocate of the long obscured doctrine of the Divine Unity. We can now bring forward the three greatest and noblest minds of modern times, and we may add of the Christian era, as witnesses to that Great Truth, of which in an humbler and narrower sphere we desire to be the defenders. Our Trinitarian adversaries are perpetually ringing in our ears the names of Fathers and Reformers. We take Milton, Locke, and Newton, and place them in our front, and want no others to oppose to the whole army of great names on the opposite side. Before these intellectual suns, the stars of self-named orthodoxy 'hide their diminished heads.' To these eminent men, God communicated such unusual measures of light and mental energy, that their names spring up spontaneously, when we think or would speak of the greatness of our nature. Their theological opinions were the fruits of patient, profound, reverent study of the Scriptures. They came to this work,

with minds not narrowed by a technical, professional education, but accustomed to broad views, to the widest range of thought. They were shackled by no party connexions. They were warped by no clerical ambition, and subdued by no clerical timidity. They came to this subject in the fulness of their strength, with free minds open to truth, and with unstained purity of life. They came to it, in an age, when the doctrine of the Trinity was instilled by education, and upheld by the authority of the church, and by penal laws. And what did these great and good men, whose intellectual energy and love of truth have made them the chief benefactors of the human mind; what, we ask did they discover in the Scriptures? a triple divinity? three infinite agents? three infinite objects of worship? three persons, each of whom possesses his own distinct offices, and yet shares equally in the Godhead with the rest? No! Scripture joined with nature and with that secret voice in the heart, which even idolatry could not always stifle, and taught them to bow reverently before the One Infinite Father, and to ascribe to Him alone supreme, self-existent Divinity.—Our principal object in these remarks has been to show that as far as great names are arguments, the cause of anti-trinitarianism, or of God's proper Unity, is supported by the strongest. But we owe it to truth to say, that we put little trust in these fashionable proofs. The chief use of great names in religious controversy is to balance and neutralize one another, that the unawed and unfettered mind may think and judge with a due self-reverence, and with a solemn sense of accountableness to God alone.”—Channing's Works, Belfast edition, vol. i., p. 23, 24.

“For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and

earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man ; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith ; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what *is* the breadth, and length, and depth, and height ; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.

“ Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him *be* glory in the church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.”—Eph. iii. 14, 21.

THE END.



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